THEOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

FROM SCIENCE TO RELIGION

In April last we drew attention to a remarkable book by Professor Simpson of Edinburgh, entitled *Man and the Attainment of Immortality*, showing how the course of evolution pointed forward to the Incarnation as its crown and climax and to Immortality as the end of Man. To-day the work of another scientist is to hand, which deals with many of the same problems, and a comparison is instructive. This book is Mr. Julian Huxley's *Essays of a Biologist*. Mr. Huxley is a grandson of Thomas Henry Huxley, and that fact alone would lend interest to his treatment of the bearing of science on religion. But he is also well known for his own biological work, especially in connection with sex-physiology; and his approach towards religion has, therefore, some importance.

The sum of his philosophy is to be found, as he tells us, in his first and last essays. The first, entitled "Progress," is a defence of the concept of Progress as applied to the world disclosed to us through science. Here his interpretation of natural evolution tallies so closely with that of others, such as Professor Simpson or the authors of the *Outline of Science* (1922), that we may take it as generally accepted. The inorganic, the organic, the human or psychozoic represent well-marked stages in evolution, each of which arises out of that which has gone before, and yet continues it not in a straight line, as it were, but with a "lift" and in a new direction. Within each of these stages, again, there are constant variations and mutations—"kinks" in the process—leading to fresh differentiations and the emergence of new streams of life. And through it all a *direction* can be traced which deserves the name of Progress. There is not only an increase in the size of organisms (and Mr. Huxley seems to us to take size

rather too seriously) but also an increase in the qualities we consider valuable. As he sums it up:

> During the course of evolution in time, there has been an increase in the control exerted by organisms over their environment, and in their independence with regard to it; there has been an increase in the harmony of the parts of organisms; and there has been an increase in the psychical parts of organisms, an increase of willing, of feeling, and of knowing.
>
> This increase has not been universal; many organisms have remained stationary or have even regressed; many have shown increase in one particular but not in others. But the *upper level* of these properties of living matter has been continually raised, their average has continually increased (pp. 30, 31).

And Mr. Huxley bids us take comfort from this: for it means that our own highest aspirations are in line with the direction of the cosmic process (pp. 40, 41).

So far, so good; but it is when he comes to Man and his destiny that Mr. Huxley begins to get into difficulties. Biologically, Man is distinguished from the lower animals by four principal marks: he can think in concepts; he can transmit his experience through tradition; his educability makes him much more adaptable to environment; and he can lead a multiple existence—*i.e.*, "be aggregated in a dozen different ways" (pp. 44, 45).

"It is for this reason difficult," Mr. Huxley says, "to fit Man into many of the ordinary biological categories." But must he not go further and say that Man is, in point of fact, on many sides of his being *supra-biological?* There is much in Man, observed by Mr. Huxley himself, which seems to require such a step. For example, there are certain levels of excellence in his attainment, which appear incapable of improvement. Can epic ever overtop Homer? Can plastic art ever surpass Phidias or Praxiteles? Can tragedy out-date the Œdipus or philosophy forget Plato? Can the spirit of imperial government be more typically embodied than in ancient Rome? Nay, Christians would add, can human goodness ever be more perfect than in Mary? Infinite enrichment, development, correction even;—yes. But intrinsically the quality here is of the highest conceivable. In other words, it is *classical.* And when an activity of Man reaches a classical level of excellence, we feel that it has passed on to a plane where biological categories cease to count.

In other words, it has passed on to the plane of pure value. These things are the measure of human achievement at its

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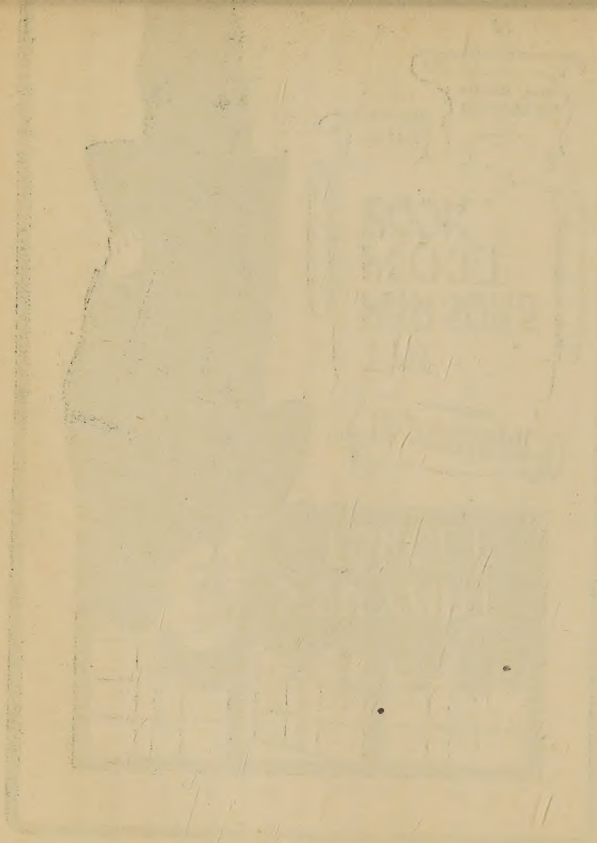

best, and show that if Man's feet are on earth and subject to all earth's laws and limits, his mind is creative and free. And they force on us a choice. They present us with the alternative, either to admit that the "biological pressure" of which Mr. Huxley speaks (p. 38) leads part of Nature on—the human part—into supernature, or to dismiss as illusory that whole conception of Progress which he has urged upon us. Grant all that Mr. Huxley says as to the infinite potentialities with which human nature shows itself invested: grant all that he says—though, indeed, he is sanguine—as to the ever wider diffusion of those values which have hitherto been the privilege of relatively few: but still a sombre verdict stands pronounced on Nature.

We inherit Progress inasmuch as we can trace an upward curve in evolution; but scientists tell us—Mr. Huxley no less plainly than his grandfather—that it mounts only to descend again in time. "Unless some at present unforeseen change occurs, the last state of the universe, considered as a purely physico-chemical mechanism, will be one of death, of inactivity. . . . There is a tendency towards death and towards unchanging inactivity" (p. 251, *cf. Evolution and Ethics*, by T. H. Huxley, pp. 44, 45). That being so, is it possible to speak of Progress as in any sense an ultimate property of things?

The truth is that when we reach Man, with his experience of value, of freedom, and of individuality, we reach a factor in Evolution which not only indicates a Progress hitherto, but raises the whole criterion of Progress itself, and requires us, if we are to hold that concept, to postulate a new sphere outside the province of biology, in which Progress can find exercise. St. Paul was right when he said that "if in this life only we have hope, we are of all men most miserable." Nature points to Supernature, Life to Immortality, Evolution to the Kingdom of Heaven. We do not quarrel with the word "monism": we only ask Mr. Huxley to follow out the full implicates of the highest things he recognizes in this single system, and to see how large accordingly the system must be to embrace them. Christian theology does not claim that its dualism is other than "symbolic"—a symbol demanded with especial force by the moral consciousness: ultimately we know that from God and through God and unto God "are all things." As Professor Hogg has put it,* the barrier which creates this dualism is a barrier *within* the natural order. "The barrier itself is unnatural or anomalous; it is, as it were, a pathological

* *Redemption for this World*, pp. 136, 137.

phenomenon." And what pierces it is Faith on Man's side, and on God's side Grace. We can put the difference between Mr. Huxley's philosophy and Christianity shortly. He closes his intellectual system within the net of biological categories; and what seems to lie outside it he explains away as merely psychological phenomena. Christianity, on the other hand, with its particular insistence on and familiarity with the highest values, not only uses a larger net, but says that no net of human devising is large enough for the truth; when philosophy and theology have said their say, there remains that which is beyond all formulation. *Entia non multiplicanda præter necessitatem*, writes Mr. Huxley: we reply, *Retia non coarctanda infra veritatem.*

That, so far as we can see, is the focal point of divergence between Mr. Huxley and Christianity; and we shall be surprised if he himself finds his present monistic theory satisfy him for long. That is why we have not drawn attention to his repeated denials of personality as an attribute of God; to his refusal to accord to atonement, or prayer, or the experience of Grace other than a psychological significance (pp. 297, 302); to his strange forgetfulness of Talleyrand's famous *dictum*, when he speaks of trying "to raise that much-desired building, a religion common to all" (p. 303); to the somewhat regrettable homage he pays from time to time to the cheaper shibboleths of Rationalism. These things are not his essentials: and he may easily come to discard them. The essential thing is that there is a real feeling after a definite faith; a sincere appreciation of religion as a permanent fact and a valuable asset to humanity; a sympathy with spiritual things. May we say that the streams of biological and of theological thought have advanced, since the days of Mr. Huxley's grandfather, not on parallel but on convergent lines? If so, where will those lines be in the days of Mr. Huxley's grandson? Let us hope that they will have met—then, if not before.

We are grateful to the Bishop of Winchester for allowing us to publish the address which he delivered to the clergy of his diocese last September: and we believe that our readers will be glad to have, and to keep, this most uplifting message. The three great principles which form its framework have been typical of a ministry and an episcopate which have left an indelible mark on the mind of the Church of England; and we trust that his voice may often still be heard in the counsels of the future.

BISHOP TALBOT'S FAREWELL TO HIS CLERGY

DEAR REVEREND BROTHERS,

You to whom there has been given, according to the Will of God and of Our Lord Jesus Christ, a share with me of that rule and oversight over His people and flock, which is also an obligation of service towards them—this is no easy task which, both from love and from duty, I have undertaken.

Everything might be said from the whole range of topics suggested by our duty or our faults, our experience and difficulties, our own life and the life about us, the things permanent and the things special to the time.

1. Of this I am clear, that if we are to make best use of our opportunity; if (in other words naturally familiar to me at this time) our official relations to one another are here and now to be "ended in Him," we must not spend much of our little time on feelings, however genuine and affectionate those feelings may be.

But let me at least begin with them, and then pass on to what is deeper.

I think that what leaps up to be said is the word of heartfelt gratitude for the much that you have made of the little that in most cases I have been able to do; of a word here, a letter there, a single visit, or act of remembrance. May I give this back to you for your own cheer, for when your time ends among your own people this same bit of human and Christian kindness will come to you, and meanwhile in the little drudgeries of duty it may make labour light to have the knowledge how far a little goes, and how abundant gratitude is. It is indeed a lovely thing.

2. Then I would like to recognize that in the allotment of work the advantage has been mine rather than yours. I have had the opportunity of addressing and even teaching you more than you have had like opportunities towards me. And if sometimes the pressure of my work may have been more exacting, that is amply compensated by the interest and variety on my side: for interest (of which, indeed, there is plenty for us all if we know how to find it) is the salt of all work. You have the more prosaic lot: yours is the larger share of the drudgery. Yet perhaps you will with mild reproof remind me that this is more than compensated by the more immediate contact with lives and souls which belongs to parochial work.

3. But further I should like you to know how much your

Bishop feels the call which your lives make upon his respectful sympathy. Times are hard. Few, perhaps, know so well as bishops do what is the straitness in many clerical homes. This is no new thing. Mr. Arrowsmith of Seale has reminded us, in his *Prelude of the Reformation*, how miserably poor many of the parochial clergy were in those days. But then (ordinarily) they were without families. Lord Macaulay's description and Goldsmith's of things in a later generation are familiar to us all. But comparisons do not greatly help, nor console. It is more to the point that we are doing, and are in the way to do, something tangible in this way. I am glad to remember that very considerable sums have flowed through my hands, and the hands of my helpers the Archdeacons, to relieve pressure where it is keenest. Nor is it only of such temporary relief that we may speak. Work has been done and is doing for raising the value of benefices. Mr. Crawford's statement in the August *Chronicle* will have shown this. The quadrupling method of combination between Parish, Diocese, and Ecclesiastical Commissioners is full of opportunity here. I have done what I could to favour and facilitate the sale of the old big houses, with corresponding increase in income. And since the Enabling Act passed there has been a marked increase in the relief to clergy given by their parishes in such matters as dilapidations, payment of charges on houses, and the like. But there is very much more still to do; and meanwhile the pluck and patience of the clergy, and, quite equally or more, of their wives, deserves praise quite beyond my power adequately to give. Only do not think that I am so careless as not to have observed, or so ungracious as not to honour.

But not only so are the times hard. I must not try to describe what is indefinite. But plainly these times since the war have not been easy for the clergy. Old religious habits broken by the war have lessened congregations. Big issues and the subtle influence of the international position, and the miscarriage of high hopes about post-war life, reacting upon the faith of individuals, have made the task harder for those who long to proclaim the Lordship and the claims of Christ. All this and much more we know. Courage, dear brothers, and patience—for stronger is He that is with us, and He will show us His will in His time, and not forget His faithful ones.

Some might ask us what our relations as Bishop and clergy have been in matters of order and discipline. I could give an unhesitatingly favourable answer. No doubt our discipline is an easy yoke—it makes no aim at uniformity. It allows large variety—as in my judgment it ought to do. Where I have tried to prescribe or to restrain, I have found with very

few exceptions readiness to co-operate and to comply. I think in this way our discipline about temporary clerical help and the like has been generally efficient—no unimportant matter. Where my guidance has been refused—the instances are very few—I recognize that individuals, perhaps unduly influenced by controversial associations, have thought they were refusing to sacrifice principle to personal compliance. I say no more of this and pass by with only a side reference to the deplorable advice lately given from without to English priests to set at naught the authority of their bishops in a matter where on any sound principles such authority could be rightfully claimed.

Let me pass to the things which being deepest best befit such a farewell as ours. You will know how hard it is to choose what to say, and how to speak. But may we say that in ourselves and in our teaching there should be the distinctive marks of these three things: Awe, Proportion, Love; and all because we are to be "men of God".

(*a*) Awe—for the plainest of all reasons, and with Moses and Daniel as our great reminders, because "the ground is holy": because the Presence, Holy and Unseen, is with us: because we are sinful men.

I have before my mind a kneeling figure of a priest, who kept the jubilee of his institution to his little rural parish. With absolute simplicity, without gestures, that figure said, clearer than words could speak, "I am in prayer before God." As his demeanour, so his words: sermons without oratory, quiet, brief, but with the intensity of a deep seriousness. "Never," a good peasant declared, "had he been so 'cut at the heart' before" as by those sermons, falling weekly on him. The time is not congenial to awe: all the more does it need what is one of the most inevitable, and most ennobling, parts of all true religion: ennobling because it is a profoundly *true* condition of the soul in presence of God, and because the creature who can feel a holy awe is thereby in kinship with the Holy God. Awe, we will repeat, because we begin and continue with God—God first, God last, God always and everywhere. God known to us finally and fully in Jesus Christ, Who being the Light has brought in his own Face the "light of the knowledge" of God.

But not *only* in Christ. It is possible, as one of the greatest living theologians has said, to be too "Christocentric." A daring saying! Yet one which when we reflect on Jesus Himself, or on the order of Scripture, we see to be true. He taught as to those who already had a knowledge of God; the knowledge which had been slowly fashioned through the disciplines of the Old Testament—and with which another kind of discipline,

that of Wisdom, had partly blended and was to blend. It speaks volumes that the Psalter of the God of Israel, with Christ "latent" but not yet patent in it, is the hymn-book and manual of Christian devotion.

Let us be thankful that one movement of recent thought is "Back to God"—and to His Fatherhood.

(*b*) I am trenching, you see, on my second topic and passing from *Awe* to *Proportion*. But about Proportion I have more to say. We need it even when we are thinking of God—and of Jesus Christ. If we must not be *only* Christocentric, yet most surely what we have in Christ must control, explain, focus all our theology or knowledge of God. If the Old Testament must and does contribute to that knowledge, it must ever be kept in place and proportion by Christian truth. Get that clear, I beg you, in your teaching—the value of the Old Testament, the limitations of the Old Testament, the gradualness of disclosure in it, and the absolute anti-Christian influence which it may have if not so controlled by Christ—as when a great soldier said to myself, "I think there is exaggeration about the value of human life; I don't see it in the Bible, when Joshua smote the Canaanites." We understand why "Back to Christ" has been as a revelation to many: how when "clouds and darkness" have seemed to be "round about" God, the mystery of His Nature and the problems of His Providence, men have had to begin with Christ, and turned afresh to teachings which lead them, though the way be misty, through Christ to God. But how much this, too, lacks, unless there is also (if I may reverently so speak) a "Back to the Spirit," as the Spirit is declared and experienced everywhere in the Scriptures of the Church which brought the double witness of the Resurrection and of Pentecost. Without the Spirit Jesus may stand to us for an unworldly morality and an ideal life, but only by the Spirit we "can say that Jesus is Lord," and enter into what that means for the full revelation of God.

Let me say in passing that, if I am right, it is one piece of solid and blessed encouragement that in this "cloudy day" we can discern a triple movement towards realization of the Fatherhood of God, the centrality of Jesus, and the living power of the Spirit.

Reflect also how that Supreme Inspiration of the Spirit brings into place and proportion those lesser inspirations to which we rightly give the name, the inspirations of the craftsmen from Bezaleel and Aholiab onwards, of the poets, such as Milton and Dante, and on a higher plane the inspiration of the Prophets!

How many times, for want of this sense of proportion, have

God's various gifts and their holders been regarded as alien, or even hostile to one another, with lines of antagonism rather than of orderly distinction between sacred and secular.

We are dealing in our thoughts on Proportion with something that has a great bearing on matters which divide us and create controversy. How much are we to develop? What are we to treat as essential or practically essential? Illustrate this from other times. The Pharisees' "long prayers" were not invented for the hypocrisy to which they were abused: they were at first developments of devotion. Certainly the "mint and anise and cummin" were the work of men who thought you could not be too careful, or scrupulous, or consistent, in following out the principles of the law, or as the phrase went, "fencing it." The thing to be observed is that these things were not only excessive; but that they tended to the two results (1) of absorbing attention and (2) of satisfying conscience, or, at least, diverting conscience from its main moral and spiritual responsibilities. The developments of reverence for the Blessed Virgin and for the Sacrament of the Altar sprang, no doubt, from a desire to guard and devotionally acknowledge the splendour of the Divine Incarnation. Yet we know what their encroachments have been. A priest of our Church, of profoundly devout and Catholic mind, and with intimate knowledge of Italian religion, said to me, "It must be owned the religion in Italy centres mainly on the Madonna and the Mass: there is comparatively little thought of Christ and less of God the Father."

That exactly illustrates what I am trying to say about proportion. This is not the time or place for controversy. You will understand how little it is my mood. But it is the time and place for fatherly suggestions as to where either opportunities or dangers lie. That there is a danger from what I might almost call the parricidal effect of developments should, I think, be plain not least to those to whom developments make legitimate appeal. Do I then mean that simplicity, with bareness for its less attractive synonym, is the last word for us in worship and teaching? A real grip on proportion answers the question. For truth and expression are inseparables. And such a Truth as that of the Catholic Faith will crave for expression, will need the witness of expression, spoken or silent, addressed both to the pure understanding, and to other faculties. Witness the growth of Christian devotion, of eucharistic and liturgical worship, of Christian philosophy, art, and architecture. Truth and expression combine their effect. The methods of the Great Pillage at the end of the Middle Ages were due to the overgrowth of superstition and observances and developments, but they did cruel and ruinous harm.

And in passing let me take the opportunity of saying that the comely, reverent, careful order of our churches through this great area, in broad contrast with their condition a century ago, is something not to be taken for granted, but a cause of thankfulness.

So, then, as to proportion.

We have got a religion, *the* religion, of deepest spiritual quality, and of the most essentially moral character, a religion of which the two great Commandments give the essence, and of which the awful reality of the Cross is the embodiment and secret. Let us maintain a continual struggle to keep the proportion between these glorious essentials, which contain magnetism for the common conscience and heart of men, and all the consequent things of doctrine, practice, and discipline which it is our duty to press on their allegiance.

(*c*) So it is that the thought of proportion passes into that of *Love*. For, as we all know, the deepest quality of our religion is its revelation of Love as the very being of God, and of love as the perfection of human life. To convey this should be the very core of our teaching, never crowded out, never overlaid by all those details of truth, duty, and practice which we have to enforce—but rather inspiring all these. For want of this the clerical pedagogue, the clerical precisian, the clerical gladiator, may all miss the best of their vocations, as more obviously still will the clerical slacker, self-pleaser, or indifferentist. The man most aware of the dignity of his Sacrament, his Eucharist, his Mass, who yet does not think of it as the Christ-given focus and inspiration of all human fellowship, misses the point more than he realizes. How hard, how dreadfully hard, this of which I speak is for us, for you, my brothers, in your little parish perhaps with your little group of communicants drawn together in simple duty for honour to God and help to their souls, but like the Corinthians (and most of us) not " enlarged " to understand and value the Sacramental consecration of all life, the centring in it of all spiritual aspiration and duty.

But the main suggestion of this our third watchword of *Love* is certainly nothing abstract or in the ordinary sense ideal. It finds shape in the courtesies, the charities, the considerate-nesses, the mutual allowances of every day. The parson's perfection is to be the most human person in the parish just because he is, in the old phrase, its " Divine." Human—like its companion " humane "—is a grand word if our thought in using it is of what man is meant to be, and is in God's purpose, This will win if nothing else does. And if human sympathy. insight into, and respect for, others' feelings do not convert the unbeliever or even bring the non-church-goer to church,

they are not, let us be certain, lost in the effect for good which God sends us in Christ to create. They soften and mellow the tone of life in a parish: feuds become fewer or less poisonous: prejudices lose something of their stiffness: and a gentle leadership gains in power. Deeper results may and do follow. But anyhow the work of the Kingdom of Christ moves and gains; the touch of Christ is felt.

But the springs of such love, where are they to be found? How is it to be strengthened in our dull, preoccupied, cumbered, and variously selfish or self-regarding hearts? There is but one answer: by living in contact with God—with the Eternal Love. It is for that that men and women in different ages and ways have gone out of the world: it is this for which the constant undefined currency of the word "mystical" to-day shows that there is a starving eager need: it is this that our religious communities do their best work in focussing and diffusing: and if we think that it is gained—this contact with God's love—most effectively through doing the works of love, and repeat that *qui laborat, orat*, still the testimony of believers is universal that it must have its own times and opportunities. My brothers, I do not speak as one who has done as he ought in this matter, or can speak as an expert. But I may perhaps draw upon my own experience so far as to say two things: (1) that I might have done and been far better, if I had steadily used the trained habit of meditation which many of you brought from your Theological College, as one of its most treasured gifts; while (2) I should have missed perhaps my best help if I had not made a yearly Retreat for most of the years of my ordained life.

I am not satisfied, let me frankly say, with the use of Retreats by the younger clergy. The days would, I am sure, be allowed by incumbents to their assistants, quite clear of the four weeks of well-earned holiday. And if cost hinders, the difficulty should be met, as I have tried on a diminutive scale to meet it, by special gifts which it is a privilege to the Bishop to administer, or from Central Funds. But what matters even more, and more universally, is that each day should have at least its minutes of retreat, when our souls may wait still upon God, when "returning to ourselves" we may "find Him within," when we may be tuned for constant use, in the Lord's own spirit, of His own filial prayer, in its rich meanings of loyalty to God, and of world-wide care for His people. The Lord's Prayer, the Lord's Day, the Lord's injunction of prayer in the closet, the Lord's Sacrament, are all His means of quickening in us the love which goes up to Him in worship and duty, and out to others in sympathy. This is the love which responds

to His own being, which keeps all in proportion, which brings that deepest awe which He wins from what is best in His creatures' souls.

Love cleanses, love quickens, love uplifts, love humbles, love fulfils duty: but it is more than duty. It is God's own inspiration in us.

So, my brothers, with words that stammer, and leave so much unsaid, and with wistful thoughts of the happy days and difficult days shared with you, I bid you farewell. That word must have pathos for me and for not a few among you. We should have hard hearts if it were not so. But it is not on the note of pathos that I would end. Partings have too large a part in life not to have great and rich meanings for us, intended by Him Who has fashioned life's natural order. There is always pain in them, less or more, up to that bitterest pain of the last parting. That is, in very truth, the mark of the Cross. But they do their blessed work by revealing the wealth and meanings of the past, by compelling us to hear their *Sursum corda*, by changing and deepening life's value, by making love purer, tenderer, deeper. They send us out, or should so do, richer, stronger, more thankful and therefore more hopeful and trustful men, upon what follows and what remains of life.

They are the instruments, let us be sure, of the Love of God.

Keep yourselves, my dear Brothers, and pray for me that I may keep myself and be kept in that love—waiting, waiting, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM FROM A MISSIONARY'S PIONT OF VIEW

A RE-READING of the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* encourages me in a view of the composition of the synoptic Gospels that may be just worth some slight consideration.

I gather these facts:

(1) Mr. Williams accepts, more or less, three possible rescensions of St. Mark:

(*a*) St. Mark *minus* vi. 45-viii. 26, and xiii.
(*b*) St. Mark *minus* vi. 45-viii. 26 *only*.
(*c*) St. Mark as it is to-day.

(2) Sir John Hawkins concludes from his studies of St. Luke that:

(*a*) He omits Mark vi. 45-viii. 26.
(*b*) He does not use St. Mark while writing his own ix. 51-xviii. 14 and vi. 20-viii. 3.

(*c*) He employs St. Mark's Passion story with unusual and remarkable freedom.

(3) Mr. Bartlett argues for St. Luke's possession of a Q so different from St. Matthew's Q as to merit the title QL, to which we must add S, for St. Luke's special sources to which St. Matthew had no access.

(4) Archdeacon Allen advises us to allow for some Aramaic background to the synoptic narratives.

I

We may, I think, rightly distinguish St. Matthew's dogmatic Gospel from the other two. His Gospel is arranged after the fashion of a "handbook for teachers": each subject receiving separate treatment in its own section. I hope this is not putting the case too strongly.

St. Mark and St. Luke are narratives: their Gospels are more like reports of sermons. St. Mark's Gospel could be preached, on the text, "Jesus Christ: His life and work," to an audience of quite simple people. St. Luke's Gospel might, perhaps, be regarded as, in part, based on sermons preached by St. Paul, discourses in which parables were freely used; although the whole Gospel is carefully composed in narrative form.

In the Mission-field we are accustomed to both forms of Gospel teaching. We have the story of our Lord's life arranged under separate headings: His words, His works, His temptation, His passion, His resurrection, and, for the initiated, His wonderful arrival in the world. Also, we have the more hortatory method under which His life and work and teaching are expounded less formally, and His parables recounted again and again.

In our Missions we have catechetical instruction, so that candidates for baptism may know Him whom, by faith, they have accepted as Saviour; we have teachings that bear upon local controversies that Islam and native misbeliefs arouse; and we have the ordinary hortatory preachings to the faithful.

St. Matthew's Gospel is a storehouse for the teacher and preacher. St. Mark provides just what one needs as an outline for discourses upon our Lord's life and work, as a whole. While St. Luke, it seems to me, is invaluable to one who has to keep simple Christians alive to spiritual realities.

St. Luke's Gospel, if it be, as is generally admitted, Pauline in tone and character, may well be taken as representing apostolic preaching to the inner circle of the faithful.

We cannot suppose that the faithful lived on sermons such as the Acts of the Apostles records as delivered to unbelievers.

And it seems to me most likely that St. Matthew and St. Luke have both preserved something of the normal apostolic message to their Christian congregations. St. Matthew, however, preferred the " textbook " method of compilation to St. Luke's narrative form.

Of St. Matthew, however, I do not wish to speak at the moment.

We have to deal with certain recognized facts in the relations of St. Mark's Gospel with St. Luke's, facts set out above as witnessed to by acknowledged masters of New Testament criticism.

II

Let us take St. Mark's Gospel, and divide it into sections.

A=Mark i. 1-vi. 44.
B=Mark vi. 45-viii. 26.
C=Mark viii. 27-xii. 44.
D=Mark xiii.
E=Mark xiv.-xvi.

And now St. Luke (very roughly indeed):

S=Luke i.-ii. and parts of the following divisions.
F=Luke iii. 1-vi. 19.
G=Luke vi. 20-viii. 3.
H=Luke viii. 4-ix. 50.
I=Luke ix. 50-xviii. 4.
K=Luke xviii. 5-xxi.
L=Luke xxii.-xxiv.

We are told that while

Mark=A+B+C+D+E,
Luke=[A+C+D]+S+[F+G+H+I+K+L],

where [A+C+D] is part of St. Mark, S is special material unknown to St. Matthew, and [F+G+H+I+K+L] is Q as known to St. Luke, and not Q in the same form exactly as St. Matthew knew it.

Also we are told that just as B from St. Mark is not in St. Luke, so, S, G, I from St. Luke have nothing to do with St. Mark.

Also, E in St. Mark is a good deal altered before it reappears wrapped up in L of St. Luke.

Thus:

A=Mark and Luke.
B=Mark only.
C=Mark and Luke.
D=Mark and Luke.

E=Mark and, altered, in Luke.
S=Luke only.
F=Mark and Luke.
G=Luke only.
H=Mark and Luke.
I=Luke only.
K=Mark and Luke.
L=Mark and, in altered form, Luke.

Does it seem likely that St. Luke really had all St. Mark's Gospel in front of him ?

He had A, C, and D; not B; and not certainly E as it now stands. If now we turn to Dr. Swete's *Commentary on St. Mark* (p. 55), we shall find that the divisions of St. Mark I call A, B, C, D, E are real divisions.

A=ministry up to the time of preaching in the plain of Gennesaret.
B=Up to the journey towards Cæsarea Philippi.
C=From the foretelling of the Passion up to the last days in Jerusalem.
D="Apocalyptic."
E=Passion-narrative.

It is B that St. Luke omits: it is E that he alters freely.

B includes ministry on the plain of Gennesaret, in the region of Tyre and Sidon, at Decapolis, Dalmanutha, and Bethsaida—a complete "missionary journey" of Our Lord.

My suggestion is this:

St. Peter was the link between the disciples at Jerusalem and the apostolic band wandering with the Master in Galilee. John Mark's mother gave her house as a meeting-place for the few disciples there were. And from St. Peter in Galilee, by the clerical assistance of John Mark, short accounts of the Master's doings came to them at Mark's house. These narratives were in Aramaic, perhaps: if not in Aramaic, then in Greek that roughly translated St. Peter's Aramaic dictation. Thus did A, B, and C come into existence. I do not mean they were originally only three narratives: several little papers may have gone to make up each.

When St. Peter came to Jerusalem with Our Lord the things related in D and E happened. John Mark wrote them, ultimately, at St. Peter's instance, for the Galilean disciples who had not heard all particulars of what had come to pass in Jerusalem.

Then several "memoranda" in St. Mark's hand became known, were copied, and widely spread.

A, B, C, D, E existed: all St. Mark's work, all with St. Peter's authority.

When, then, St. Mark was bidden write St. Peter's Gospel, he had these memoranda; and he had the advantage of having heard St. Peter repeat their subject-matter again and again. Hence he constructed his Gospel, a combination of the five, still retaining evident marks of their translation into Greek from an Aramaic speaker's words, or now, for the first time, done into Greek.

III

St. Luke secured in his collection of attempted narratives A and C and D, and perhaps E. He never met with B.

Amongst the other narratives that he came across, either in St. Paul's collection or in houses that he visited, St. Luke found a document, or some documents, resembling G and I and K (unless he got it all from St. Paul's preaching and teaching)—a Pauline version of Matthew's Q, with additions.

It would be quite in accordance with wise missionary policy to equip newly ordained elders with some written record of what they were to teach: St. Luke's G, I, and K may be such records. Also, St. Mark's A, C, D may quite easily have remained with St. Paul since their first journey together.

IV

Of St. Matthew, to turn now to him, it is permissible to suppose that he had the same opportunity as St. Mark, or, at the worst, a not very inferior one, of learning all about the Galilean ministry as well as of the life and passion in Jerusalem.

The Apostle Matthew may have shared in the sending to Jerusalem of Galilean news: he would most likely read in Mark's mother's house all the records her son had written for her. That he copied them would not surprise me, any more than it would surprise me to find that he wrote his own Gospel in his own way, while using much of the simple phraseology of St. Mark. While Q was, I take it, his own special contribution: his own compilation of what a Christian teacher should hand on to his disciples.

Assume that St. Matthew possessed A, B, C, D, E in Aramaic, or in Mark's hasty translation into Greek of St. Peter's words: assume his own collection of teaching: we need not assume that he had St. Mark's Gospel in its finished form. And we see how little he would hesitate to alter the order, or to modify the expressions used.

His collection of our Lord's words he quite possibly began to

make before his conversion. He was evidently a man of "honest and good heart," who had pondered well the Master's teaching before he received the direct call. Is it impossible that he had made notes of this "strange doctrine," or that after his conversion he continued to write down what he heard? Judging from the simple African who can write, it would be a most natural proceeding on his part.

V

I admit that these suggestions are only acceptable if we can date the Gospels fairly early.

For myself, I believe St. Mark's Gospel dates from about A.D. 45 in its present form, and that the other two were written before Jerusalem fell.

From the nature of the case, St. Matthew's "textbook of the Life of Our Lord" may have been re-edited. I do not pretend to know. "Textbooks" in missions certainly do get re-edited. But St. Luke's Gospel is, I take it, as St. Luke left it—textual errors apart.

It seems to me that what I have suggested is a very natural account of how the Gospels came to be. It avoids the supposition that St. Mark's Gospel was "corrected," for a set purpose, by the other two, who wished to turn the facts to their own special purposes.

It also permits of our explaining small discrepancies. For it is always possible that St. Matthew and St. Luke had copies of St. Mark's memoranda which disciples had attempted to improve, in accordance with apostolic preachings they had heard.

Our missionaries do a good deal of dictating to our senior lads, candidates for teachership, or Holy Orders. Our notes are lent out to others, and copied: the copies are not always quite accurate. And if we lend our own notes to another teacher they get altered in dictation, and the resulting copy is not quite like the original in all details.

Thus the discrepancies in the Gospels could be explained, perhaps, and that quite naturally.

My point is that what St. Matthew and St. Luke knew of St. Mark was not his finished Gospel, nor one narrative: they possessed copies of the *Memoranda* that St. Mark made into his Gospel: St. Matthew, all of them, St. Luke, some of them.

These copies, while generally faithful, were not, perhaps, accurate in all details.

But in any case both St. Matthew and St. Luke were free to judge for themselves what to write. St. Luke was full of

St. Paul's preaching, and had copies of St. Paul's Gospel as written down in notes for the elders he ordained (QL). While St. Matthew had his own materials that he had used in preaching (QM). And if there existed an editor of St. Matthew's Gospel, his work was not to correct the "textbook" St. Matthew had left behind, but only to leave it more "tidy," and more "scientifically" arranged. Personally, I don't believe in the editor. But I have no prejudice against believing in him—when his existence is proven. I guess St. Matthew did his own editing. Also, I guess that he did not correct St. Mark for his own purpose: he knew St. Mark's narratives by heart, and wrote his own, in his own ways, with St. Mark's sounding in his ears as he wrote. Just as he had for years preached it, in his own way, never unmindful of St. Mark's *Memoranda*, the common property of St. Peter and the Apostolic Band.

VI

One word more. If the origin of the synoptic Gospels is something like what I have suggested we are delivered from the nightmare of the witness-box. In these days no single Evangelist is believed unless one of the others can be called in corroboration. St. Mark is a kind of chief witness, because his evidence is, in general, always corroborated by that of at least one other. While St. Matthew and St. Luke, when they do not move together, are held suspect—apart from St. Mark. But once imagine the Apostolic Church as very like our own in the Mission-field; imagine Apostolic preaching to the inner circle, the faithful, in this house or that; and you need have no fear lest St. Matthew and St. Luke are sometimes guilty of invention or misstatement. They both write for us what they had received; what they had heard over and over again; what they had very likely themselves preached hundreds of times. And since the Apostolic Church received their Gospels, and the sub-Apostolic Church treated them as Scripture, we may quite safely rest assured that they reproduce the Christ's own teaching. QM and QL look exceedingly dull—as naked symbols. In fact, they stand for that on which the first Christians lived and became holy.

Personally, I am not convinced that what Papias meant by *logia* is what we mean by Q. But I am quite convinced that what we mean by QM and QL is what the earliest Christians knew, for a fact, that the Lord Jesus had said and done. QM and QL are both certified by the common consent of the early Church.

✠ Frank Zanzibar.

CONCERNING THE GREY BOOK *

WHATEVER be the true theory of the relationship implied by the formula *Lex Orandi lex Credendi*, there can be no question of its practical importance. As man worships so will he believe. In so far as worship means anything to him at all, his positive beliefs will grow into some measure of agreement with all that is stated or implied in that many-sided corporate act in which he shares. He is called to the worship of God, and all the various elements in worship have their place in revealing the nature and character of the God with whom he has to do.

This is the highest responsibility of worship, the responsibility for the setting forth and the conveying of the truth about God. A peculiar gravity belongs to it at the present time. For, in the first place, the characteristic religious disease of the present is uncertainty, with its extensions into error and sheer ignorance, as to God. A good deal of religious controversy obscures this fact, and yet the signs of it are discernible, and not only outside the Church. The religious interest and enthusiasm of those that are within is not always evoked most obviously by beliefs which, for the Christian, should be quite primary and central, while in the case of those who acknowledge no binding tie to historic Christianity there is often much sympathy for and appreciation of spiritual values, but very much less assurance that all spiritual values find their explanation in God, and that all spiritual life derives from Him and in Him alone possesses true subsistence and coherence.

And, secondly, we have to reckon with a situation in which the New Testament is far less comparatively well-known than used to be the case. This will be still truer of the Old Testament, and the loss there is not small: but in connection with the New Testament it is incalculable. For the New Testament is throughout and at its deepest the revelation and gospel of God. In it there is a clearly marked way, aboundingly rich in all that during its course it unveils, to the knowledge of God. Not forgetting whatever difficulties or uncertainties criticism has raised, and the reactions of these on the mind of the reader, I would say that a revived knowledge of the New Testament would be the most powerful weapon for dealing with our modern disease. But as things are, the weight of the New Testament must be brought to bear in other ways. The Church, which makes so great a claim to the possession of the

* This article is based on the only edition of the *Grey Book* which has hitherto appeared. It is possible that not all the criticisms would apply to a second edition which is said to be in preparation.

truth about God, is bound to exalt its teaching office both positively and in contrast with other claimants upon man's attention. And, however conciliatory and persuasive it may be, however much it seeks points of attachment with the spirit of the age, and looks for approaches to and partial reflexions of the truth in doctrines and tendencies which gain a vogue and a hold upon the public ear, the Church cannot conceal or compromise its Gospel at its decisive points. It cannot afford, any more than in the eclectic third century, to descend from the pedestal of its own peculiar distinctiveness and to merge itself in a syncretism of beliefs and cults. Christianity in being Catholic has not thrown down all barriers; and though the Gospel is offered to all men without distinction of race and culture, it is not offered to them on their terms, but on its own.

Accordingly, there is a grave theological responsibility in connection with Prayer-Book Revision. The liturgical expert will have much to say which belongs to him by right. And those who represent the mind of the ordinary worshipper must see to it that his needs are met as fully as possible, even if this may sometimes mean something less, here or there, than the liturgical best. But there is a place also, in review and judgment of the work of revision and of particular contributions, for those who look especially to the theological reactions of what may be done and approved. Such interest has, of course, not been lacking; but it has been largely bound up with particular questions of eucharistic theology, which, quite naturally, and yet unfortunately, have acquired an isolated and unbalanced importance. Now it is obvious that the final Revision must have certain effects in respect of eucharistic theology, unless the service of Holy Communion is entirely excluded from the scope of revision, a course more attractive as a temporary expedient than intrinsically sound or wise, but those effects will do nothing more startling than express with greater liturgical clearness the fact that there is more than one eucharistic tradition in the Church of England. There are those for whom this may be an uncomfortable fact, and they will not be found to constitute one homogeneous group, but if we neither on the one hand ignore the sixteenth century, nor, on the other, invest that time of *Sturm und Drang* with a sacrosanct character to which it has no reasonable right, we shall not exaggerate the consequences of any action which the Church of England may take.

But by one set of proposals more serious issues are raised. Many Churchmen have probably been attracted by the temper, the intention, and the definite proposals of the authors of what is generally known as the *Grey Book*, which is, in the first instance, a revised Order of Holy Communion, but has since

developed into a number of pamphlets aiming at Prayer-Book enrichment with explanatory pamphlets added. The group of clergy responsible for these documents, standing, as it clearly does, aloof from all precise party alignments, has aimed at a constructive revision which might provide a large measure of satisfaction for men of varied schools of thought. For so bold a policy the group certainly deserves the Church's gratitude, nor, in connection with the service of Holy Communion, with which alone I am concerned, has it lacked success. On points of liturgical correctness, especially in connection with changes of order, I express no opinion, but the finished result in the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Prayer of Consecration, and in the retention for use at every Eucharist, though with certain dislocations, of the Prayers of Oblation and Thanksgiving, is one that might meet with a good deal of support from those who would see in these proposals some real hope of an agreed solution. The National Assembly might see a better prospect of peace in the *Grey Book* than in the approval of N.A. 84 or in the approving, as an alternative form, of the Order constructed by the E.C.U. Committee.

But with this much, of whatever weight it be accounted, in its favour, it would nevertheless be contrary to the highest interests of the Church, and prejudicial to the central evangelical note of its theology, for the *Grey Book* to be approved as it stands. It swerves too much and too often from the evangelical norm, and this is precisely what, at the present time, the Church cannot afford to do. The instances which I shall give are not all of the same degree of importance, but they all point the same way, and it is the cumulative effect which matters most of all. And Anglicanism is not so strong in its grasp upon the evangelical element in Christianity that it can afford to make that element notably less apparent in its most solemn worship.

(i.) The first change of importance occurs in the Confession, which, in the revised order, comes near the beginning of the service, in that part called "The Preparation." In it are omitted, as compared with the present use, the words and phrases "most grievously," "against thy Divine Majesty," and "The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; the burden of them is intolerable." These omissions are justified in *Grey Book Pamphlets No.* 2, *The Sacrifice of the Communion* (p. 5), in the interests of a truer view of the character of God towards penitent sinners, and of sincerity in the confession itself. The importance of the last point is very real, though I am not at all sure that the Christian conscience, if working on that high level to which it is desirable that all communicants should approach, would find any difficulty in the language of our

existent form, or that it may not be in itself a help towards the attainment of that level. But apart from that, the *Grey Book* Confession is seriously weakened by the omission of all direct acknowledgment of sin as sin against God. If the phrase "against thy Divine Majesty" is to be avoided because it may leave an opening for unworthy views of God derived from the associations of earthly sovereignties, some substitute could have been found to express the essential characteristic of sin that it is wrongdoing in relation to God. The present age certainly is not one so familiar with that grave truth that it no longer needs to have it pressed upon its notice.

(ii.) While in the Comfortable Words the ascription of St. John iii. 16 to the Evangelist and not to our Lord need not arouse controversy, the giving up, in order to make room for this sentence, of 1 St. John ii. 1 is a great loss. For this is the only one of the Comfortable Words which in any way defines the work which Christ does or the aspect in which He is revealed as the Saviour. Men are invited to come to Him and to believe on Him who came to save them, but it is not till we reach the final word that we are told how, in respect of the relation of us sinners to the Father, He is our Advocate, and, in respect of our sins themselves, He is the propitiation for them. Let it be granted that the idea of propitiation is not a congenial one at the present time, and that it raises difficulties. But unless anyone is bold enough to say that the Christian conception of sacrifice and atonement is one from which the notion of propitiation is excluded, there can be no adequate ground for removing from its place in the context of the great memorial of the Lord's sacrifice the apostolic testimony to Christ as the propitiation for our sins.

(iii.) The change from "I believe" to "We believe" in the Creed is defended on the ground of original form, and as emphasizing the corporate element in the declaration of faith. "We are learning," it is said, "how much Western Christianity has suffered from excessive individualism." This is partly, but only partly, true. A considerable amount of evidence could be gathered for the argument that in the West the individual has not always been rated at his due importance. But in any case I doubt whether excessive individualism is one of the most pressing dangers within the Church to-day. And it is exceedingly important that the individual should be prepared to take up his own responsibilities in matters of belief. It is more important that the individual should be challenged to do that in the recitation of the Creed than that he should realize the subordinate character of his personal profession in comparison with the action of the whole Body.

(iv.) In the Prayer of Humble Access the words "so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink His blood," are changed into "so to receive the Communion of the Body and Blood of Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ"; and the immediately following "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood" become, "that we may be made clean, both in body and soul." The first change is defended in the interests of the majority of untheological people who may be expected to understand better the substituted form. But there must always be a difficulty in any eucharistic phraseology which acknowledges that in this service we are brought near to holy mysteries, and the more forcible and penetrating the phrase the greater will the demand be that is made upon the understanding of the worshippers. Yet it is just that demand which must sometimes be made in the interests of the worshippers themselves. The value of our present words is that they do suggest the idea of the Eucharist as a feast upon Christ our Sacrifice. No interpretation is laid down, and more than one conception of the sacrificial relationship or aspect of the Eucharist remains possible. But in the substituted form the thought of a feast upon a sacrifice is not directly present at all, and the liturgy is proportionately impoverished.

The other change is justified on the ground that the existing form expresses a merely rhetorical distinction, to which nothing real corresponds, in the effects of the two acts of Communion. It is true that the words are open to criticism in so far as they suggest distinction in effects. But there is no need to press the distinction, while the bearing of the Eucharist upon the whole man, soul and body, is both Scriptural and patristic. Once again the imagery suggests to us the all-embracing power of Christ's sacrifice and its redemptive consequences, recalling the soteriology of Hebrews x. 10, "by which will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all," and of Revelation i. 5, "unto him that loveth us, and loosed [A.V., washed] us from our sins by his blood." Whatever improvement of form is to be allowed to the revision has been gained by the sacrifice of a rich help towards an understanding of the place of the Eucharist in the Christian theology of redemption.

(v.) In the Prayer of Consecration the words "oblation and satisfaction" after "sacrifice" are omitted, as being redundant and open to misunderstanding by the people; while "satisfaction" is said not to possess Scriptural warrant. It is suggested in a footnote (*The Sacrifice of the Communion*, p. 9) that if a further word is desired, "propitiation" is preferable. The reasons for change here are far from convincing. Certainly

" satisfaction," which brings in a further idea, is not a redundant word, nor even " oblation," which suggests, in a way that sacrifice does not, the voluntary self-giving in death of the Son of God. As to misunderstanding, these words are no more essentially open to this charge than many others which we could not possibly drop out from public worship; nor need we overlook the possibilities of instruction. The value of the word " satisfaction " consists in the attention which it directs to the God-ward, objective side of the Cross. Its use does not commit us to Anselm's or to any other particular theory, but it says something which needs to be said, if anywhere, then in the Prayer of Consecration. In this connection it is of no account that the word is not used of Christ's sacrifice in Scripture. If it does its proper work it is thereby justified: that issue was settled by the word ὁμοούσιος in 325. The insertion of " propitiation " would be an immense improvement in the revised form, but it is best to let the words stand as they are.

Two further points in the Prayer of Consecration must be noted. The first is a change in the language of our present prayer of oblation, part of which is inserted in the revised Prayer between an Anamnesis of the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, and an Epiclesis. Instead of " through faith in His blood," we read, " through faith in His love." It is the most unfortunate change for which the authors of the *Grey Book* have been responsible. A footnote (*Sacrifice of the Communion*, p. 10) tells us that of His love, " His blood, shed on Calvary, is the historical proof and pledge." But the sacrifice of Calvary is not primarily a proof or pledge of the love of God or of Christ: it is that love in action, and in action in the most intense way conceivable. Moreover, it is love constrained in that action to the point of death owing to the necessities imposed upon it by sin. As the words stand at present they point back to Romans iii. 25, where, whatever translation be preferred, the general sense is unmistakable. The reference to " His blood " is of central importance in Romans and it is of central importance in our Liturgy. To remove it and to substitute for it a reference to " love," left quite undefined so far as the text is concerned, is an astonishing lapse.

More support may be gained for the insertion in the same sentence of " offering ourselves to Thee in communion with Him " between " We and all Thy whole Church " and " may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His Passion." But I do not believe that the idea, which the words compel, of Christian people and the Church making a self-oblation in communion with Christ as a precedent to the obtaining of forgiveness, is sound. We can, in the true and full Christian

sense, offer ourselves in Christ only as already forgiven and justified. The explanation (*The Sacrifice of the Communion*, p. 10) does not distinguish between concurrence and consequence, an important distinction which is needed to preserve our grasp upon the uniqueness of Christ's oblation, whether as offered on Calvary or represented in the Eucharist.

(vi.) My last criticism is of the omission of the words, "by the merits of the most precious death and passion of Thy dear Son," in the post-Communion Thanksgiving. Thereby is lost the valuable connection between the kingdom and the Cross which is effected in our present prayer. The dependence of our heritage upon the Lord's Passion, with all that it implies of the greatness of what Christ suffered and achieved for the sake of man, is a truth capable of inspiring deep gratitude in those who realize at all that in His death the Lord gave His life as a ransom for many. It is difficult to think of any satisfying reason for the change at this point.

The net result of the alterations on which some comment has been made is to diminish the effective testimony of the Liturgy to the place of the Atonement in the Gospel. This is a serious matter when the far too hard-pressed distinction in respect of the Atonement between fact and theory is in danger of reducing Atonement to a mere word. As a matter of fact, all the great theories of Atonement have preserved truth of the most valuable kind: the idea that soteriology has been, on the whole, unremunerative is an extraordinarily perverse misreading of the facts. And were the *Grey Book* to be approved in its present form, the tendency, still too strong, to shift the balance, both of theological thought and of religious devotion, away from Calvary and the One Oblation, would be strengthened. And that would be a disaster.

J. K. Mozley.

THE INTERMEDIATE STATE OF THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED

"... The doctrine of the ... Greek or Orthodox Church ... is this, that, generally speaking and upon the whole, the state of the faithful departed is a state of light, and rest, and peace, and refreshment, of happiness far greater than any belonging to this life, yet inferior to that which shall be enjoyed after the resurrection and the final Judgment. The doctrine of the Latins, on the other hand, is this, that, generally speaking and upon the whole, the state of the faithful departed is a state

of penal torment, differing from that of hell only in the certainty of future deliverance. . . ."*

Such, according to one who knew both Communions well, is the wide divergence between the doctrines taught by the Latin and Orthodox Churches respectively, concerning the Intermediate State of the faithful departed. The divergence (as the writer quoted from admits) is a very startling one; but it is not only a very startling, it is also, despite his special pleading to the contrary, a wholly irreconcilable divergence. For there enter into it certain further elements of contrast omitted from his statement—elements which, though he ignores them, are essential to either doctrine and which, when taken into consideration, render completely nugatory any attempt to represent the two doctrines as merely varying statements of a substantially identical view. The two doctrines are, in point of fact, mutually antagonistic and mutually exclusive. If the one (be it which it may) be accepted as true, it follows of necessity that the other must be dismissed as false. Accommodation between them is impossible. The one rules out the other.

This being so, it is of prime importance to enquire which of the two, if either, has behind it the sanction and support of Divine Revelation. It is to this enquiry that the present article will be devoted; and, as a preliminary to that enquiry, it will be necessary to draw out in detail the distinctive characteristics of each doctrine, so that the two may be (as it were) laid side by side and compared and contrasted with one another. For the sake of convenience, it is proposed that the one shall be termed the *Latin* and the other the *non-Latin* view, these terms being non-committal terms and in no way calculated to prejudice the enquiry.

I

To take the non-Latin view first. According to this view—the view held, not by the Orthodox Church alone, but by the Oriental Churches generally,† and till just recently traditional also in the Anglican Communion—the Intermediate State lasts for all who have passed out of this life by death (whether they be saved or lost souls) *until their resurrection*. Until that resurrection, both these classes of souls are, according to this view, detained in a waiting place divided into two distinct com-

* *Dissertations on the Eastern Catholic Communion*, by the Rev. W. Palmer, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, and Deacon. J. Masters. London. 1853. Dissertation viii., § x., pp. 124-25. Mr. Palmer, after once or twice seeking unsuccessfully to be received on his own terms into the Orthodox Church, sought and gained in later life admission into the Latin Church, of which he died a member.

† *Op. cit.*, Dissert. viii., § x., p. 124.

partments, interned in one or other of which they experience, according as they died in Grace or out of Grace, a foretaste, blissful or the reverse, of the joys or woes which will, *but only after their resurrection*, be meted out to them in Heaven or in Hell, these final Abiding Places of the saved and of the lost being (it is held) not as yet open for the general reception of members of the human race.* While the lost are detained, (so it is taught) in a lower part of the waiting place, the saved pass immediately after death into a higher part, separated from the lower by a wide and impassable chasm, and are there matured for their future heavenly life on the one hand (i.) by a gradual deepening of their spiritual perceptions, and on the other hand (ii.) by a gradual elimination of all spiritual stain or soilure contracted during this earthly life. Any suffering which they may be called upon to endure meanwhile is (it is believed) the natural result of this double process and intrinsic to it, not (as it were) imposed upon them extrinsically and from without by a direct act of the retributive Justice of God.

Such, stated broadly and in its essential features, is the non-Latin view. With this must now be contrasted the Latin view. According, then, to the Latin, as contrasted with the non-Latin view, there is, strictly speaking, no Intermediate State excepting for the saved, and only for these if they have failed to " pay off," during their lifetime, the " debt of temporal punishment " alleged by the Latin Church to be due even to repented and forgiven sin. Only for these is there reserved any sort of Intermediate State; for, according to the Latin teaching, souls dying out of Grace go straight to the final Hell, and souls dying in Grace, but with no debt lying against them of " unexpiated temporal punishment," go straight to the final Heaven. These latter (baptized infants, martyrs, very great saints, etc.) are, of course, in the minority. For those, however, of the saved—the vast majority—who, at the time of their death, have an outstanding balance of this debt recorded against them in the Divine ledgers, an Intermediate condition of a very terrific nature remains to be undergone. For these are sent,

* The souls of the martyrs were, by an early speculation, held to be exceptions to this otherwise universal rule; and, later on, the Legend of the Assumption assigned to the Blessed Mother of Our Lord, in the non-Latin no less than in the Latin scheme of Theology, a place—indeed the highest place after our Lord—in Heaven. Further, since the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439), the Eastern Orthodox Church appears to have modified in one particular its more ancient teaching. With regard to those who die in Grace, indeed, but stained with serious sins, the more modern teaching appears to be that their souls are sent to the final Hell for a time, and, after a longer or shorter chastisement, released and admitted to Paradise. In the Primitive Liturgies (see *The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*, Adrian Fortescue's translation, C.T.S., 1908, p. 104 note) all the faithful departed, including the greatest saints and even the Blessed Virgin Mary, were prayed for, evidently on the ground that they had not yet attained to their final "rest" in Heaven.

not to a waiting place of rest and peace properly so called, but rather to a place of penal confinement, temporary, it is true, but still penal, a torture-house where, extrinsically and by a direct act of the Divine Will exacting satisfaction for offences against the Divine Justice, they are, for a longer or shorter period, subjected to torments* as severe while they last as those of the final Hell, by the suffering of which torments (so it is taught) they gradually "purge" or "pay off" whatever may remain of the debt of temporal punishment due from them on account of their sins. As soon as that debt is "purged," they are liberated; and, the Divine Justice having been "satisfied," they ascend forthwith, even though still disembodied, to the final Heaven. It would seem, then, that, according to the Latin view, the essential end aimed at by this course of penal detention is rather the "purging" or paying-off of the soul's debt than the "purging" or purifying of the soul itself. Such purification is, in fact, in the Latin view, a subordinate and more or less "accidental" feature. The main point is the satisfaction of the Divine Justice; and it was apparently with reference to this satisfaction, and to this exclusively, that the word "Purgatory" was first used. Historically speaking, no other sense properly belongs to the word; and though, of course, it is nowadays widely used so as to cover the idea of Purification, sometimes in conjunction with and sometimes to the exclusion of the idea of Expiation, such a use would seem to be wholly illegitimate. Throughout this article the word will be used in its historical sense only.

II

It would seem clear, then, that the two views, the Latin and the non-Latin, of the Intermediate State of the faithful departed cannot by any sort of sophistry be really reconciled with one another. The leading idea of the former is (as has been seen) that of a purely penal expiation, relieved, indeed, by the hope of an actual entrance, previous to resurrection, on the joys of Heaven, but consisting meanwhile in the endurance of excruciating torments, whereas the leading idea of the latter is, on the contrary, that of a gentle and merciful illumination—an illumination which is (it is true) to be continued right up to the hour of the soul's reunion with the body and accompanied by a foretaste only of the joys of Heaven, but which yet takes

* The Catechism of the Council of Trent, part i., on the Creed: v. ". . . There is a purgatorial fire, in which the souls of the pious are tormented [*cruciatæ*] for a certain time. . . ." Cardinal Bellarmin says: "The fathers uniformly teach that the pains of Purgatory are most severe [*atrocissimæ*], and that no pains connected with this life are to be compared with them" (Ap. *Tracts for the Times.* Rivingtons, 1839. *Tract* 79, pp. 5, 6, 12. See also Rev. W. Palmer, *op. cit.*, Dissert. viii., § x., p. 125).

place during all this period in an atmosphere of the profoundest rest and peace. Such is the contrast.

Which, then, of these two conflicting views can establish its claim—for the claim is made on behalf of each—to be the genuine expression of the Divine Revelation? And which, if either, can establish the further claim, also made for each, that it is a part of that obligatory deposit, the "Catholic Faith," the whole-hearted acceptance* of which is necessary to salvation? There are, of course, many truths revealed to us in Holy Scripture which are not therefore necessarily included in the obligatory deposit nor entitled to rank as *de fide*.† The non-acceptance of such truths on the part of any of the faithful neither imperils salvation nor justifies excommunication. Still, no truth revealed by God, whether or no it form a portion of the deposit, can fail to be of value to the individual Christian or, indeed, to the Church at large. If, therefore, one or other of the conflicting views now under review can with any probability be shown to be revealed, even though its inclusion also in the deposit may not be provable, it will still have a serious claim on our consideration. It is the conviction of the present writer that the claim of the non-Latin view, as against that of the Latin view, to be not merely revealed, but included also in the deposit, can be triumphantly vindicated. The grounds for this conviction, stated succinctly, but as fully as the available space permits, shall now be set out.

III

In order to establish the claim of any alleged truth to be included in the deposit, proof must (according to the immemorial teaching of the Church) be furnished, not only that that truth is to be found in Holy Scripture, but, further, that it has been held in the Church from the beginning by a general tradition traceable to the Apostles.‡ Such tradition has, in fact, been always regarded as the master key to the true interpretation of Holy Scripture, This twofold test must now be applied to the elucidation of the question at issue. To begin with the test of the teaching of Holy Scripture. This, as will be

* That is, of course, in will and intention. The acceptance of the whole Faith, *where it is known and understood*, is necessary to salvation. See St. Matt. xxviii. 20; Acts xx. 27; Athanasian Creed, first and last verses.

† See *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*. By F. W. Puller, S.S.J.E. Third Edition. Longmans, 1900. Lecture xii., Appendix M: *On the Principle of Development*, pp. 424-26.

‡ See *op. cit.*, Appendix M., pp. 426-33. Also *Roman Catholic Claims*. By Bishop C. Gore, D.D. Seventh edition. Longmans, 1900. Ch. iii., pp. 35-48; and *The Rule of Faith as maintained by the Fathers and the Church of England*. By E. B. Pusey, D.D. Third thousand. Parker and Rivingtons, 1878, pp. 36-37.

seen, even apart from the added test of the teaching of tradition, is overwhelmingly in favour of the non-Latin view.

According to the great Lightfoot,* the Jews of Our Lord's day held that the souls of all the departed were, until the resurrection, detained in a common waiting place, which waiting place, however, was in their view divided into two compartments, a higher and a lower, the souls of the righteous being consigned to the former and the souls of the wicked to the latter. These two compartments, according to the same view, were separated from one another by the space of a hand-breadth only, those detained on either side of the dividing-line being thought to be able both to see those detained on the other side of the dividing-line and also to engage in mutual converse with them. A foretaste, though a foretaste only, of the bliss or woe to be meted out to them after their resurrection was held to accompany their sojourn in this waiting place. To the waiting place at large, the name of "Sheol" or "Hades" was given; but the higher part of it was commonly spoken of in distinction from the lower, sometimes as "The Garden of Eden" or "Paradise," sometimes as "Abraham's Bosom," and sometimes, again, as the "Place under the Heavenly Throne" or "Altar."

Now, this doctrine, so far at least as the features just enumerated are concerned, seems to have been, except in one solitary particular, taken over and sanctioned as true in the New Testament. The one excepted particular is concerned with the width of the dividing-line. This, alleged by the Jews of Our Lord's day to be of the space of a hand-breadth only, was by Our Lord, on the contrary, emphatically declared to be of the nature of a wide and, indeed, impassable gulf or chasm.† With this exception, however, the general doctrine, name and thing, seems to have been endorsed both by Our Lord and by His Apostles, and (as if to make assurance doubly sure) to have received, when the New Testament came at length to be written under His guidance, the further and final *imprimatur* of the Holy Spirit.

A brief reference to the Gospels and the Acts on the one hand, and to the Apostolical Epistles and the Apocalypse on the other, will show the truth of this statement. Thus our Lord Himself in the parable of "Dives and Lazarus" uses the

* See Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ* on Luke xv. 22, 23, 26 and Luke xxiii. 43. See also Bp. Bull, *Works*, vol. i., Diss. iii., p. 59. Bp. Bull, p. 61, quotes from the Chaldee paraphrast on Cant. iv. 12, who, speaking of the Garden of Eden (that is, Paradise) says that "thereinto no man hath the power of entering but the just, whose souls are carried thither by the hands of Angels." "If this," adds the learned writer, "had been an erroneous opinion of the Jews, doubtless our Saviour would never . . . have confirmed it by teaching the same thing in the Parable of Dives and Lazarus." Ap. *The Thirty-nine Articles*. By Bp. E. H. Browne. Ninth edition. London, 1871. Art. iii., Sec. i., p. 522.

† St. Luke xvi. 26.

expressions "Hades" and "Abraham's Bosom";* and His gracious promise to the Penitent Thief is that he shall that day be with Him in "Paradise";† while, in his addresses and Epistles, the expressions "Hades" and "the prison" (or wardroom) "of spirits" are made use of by St. Peter,‡ and, in the Apocalypse, that of the "Place under the Throne" or "Altar" by St. John.§

Add to this the fact that the outstanding features characteristic of the waiting place, in both its compartments, as represented in the current Jewish doctrine, seem also to re-emerge in the New Testament allusions to the subject; and the confirmation of that doctrine by the Revelation given through the Apostles would appear to be complete.

To this doctrine so confirmed St. Paul adds two further touches of supreme importance. He tells us, first, that to depart this life in grace is to go and to be "with Christ" in some very special sense,‖ and, secondly, that, in that blessed Presence, the good work which was begun here will, in one or more of its manifold departments, be carried onwards towards completion, and that up to the very day of His return.¶ It seems clear, then, not only that the doctrine current among the Jews in the Apostolic Age is, in its general outline, recognized as true, but also that for all who die in grace the idea of some sort of progress or illumination continuing right up to the hour of the soul's reunion with the body is also endorsed.

This is the fitting place to notice two additional points in the testimony of Holy Scripture concerning the question in hand. The first of these points is that Paradise is not, as in the current Latin view, identified with the final Heaven. Whereas on Easter Sunday Our Lord declared to St. Mary Magdalene that He had *not yet* ascended to Heaven,** on Good Friday He promised the Penitent Thief that he should *that day* be with Him in Paradise.†† Paradise, therefore, at any rate up to the hour of Our Lord's Ascension, could in no sense be identified with the final Heaven. And, if the Patristic comments on St. Paul's "visions and revelations of the Lord"‡‡ are to be accepted as correct, neither can it be so identified now. Carelessly read, St. Paul's words seem to describe but one "catching away"

* St. Luke xvi. 23, 22. † St. Luke xxiii. 43. ‡ Acts ii. 27; 1 Pet. iii. 19.
§ Rev. vi. 9. ‖ Phil. i. 23. ¶ Phil. i. 6.
** St. John xx. 17. †† St. Luke xxiii. 43.
‡‡ 2 Cor. xii. 2-4. ". . . St. Paul speaks here of two several raptures or translations to two several places. (1) A rapture to the Third Heaven. (2) Another rapture to Paradise. . . . He was carried up *as far as* the third *heaven*. He was also carrried *into Paradise*. . . . Thus St. Iræneus (ii. 34). . . . See also *Tertullian* de Præscript. c. 24 and *Justin M.* and *Methodius* . . . so St. Jerome (ep. ad. Joh. Hieru. c. 24). . . . Epiphanius, Hoer. 54, and Athanasius, Gregory Mag., and Primasius . . ." (*The New Testament with Introduction and Notes.* By Charles Wordsworth, D.D. Rivingtons, 1861. Note *in loc.*).

under two different images; but the Fathers who treat of the passage alluded to are emphatic that there were two separate "catchings away," one to Paradise and the other "right up" to the Third Heaven. It is, of course, possible (and certain *obiter dicta* in the Holy Scriptures seem to render it probable)* that, since the Ascension, the gulf already separating the higher from the lower portion of the waiting place has been yet further widened, the lower part being still left "below," but the higher taken "above." If this be the case, Paradise would now be not what it was before the Ascension, a part of Hades, but rather an annexe of Heaven itself; and Paradise might, therefore, in a loose and improper sense, be even spoken of as "Heaven." Paradise and Heaven are, however, in reality distinct from one another, the latter being (as it were) the palace of the heavenly King and the former the park or demesne (for that is the meaning of the word "Paradise") surrounding that palace.

So much for the first of the two additional points alluded to. The second of these two additional points is that, excepting in certain "proof-texts," which are plausibly quoted, but which are not really *ad rem*, no hint seems to be given in Scripture of the existence of any such thing as a Purgatory proper, while almost everything that *is* told us seems (as has been shown) altogether to negative it.†

The "proof-texts" referred to are such as speak of the "uttermost farthing" having to be paid by those relegated to prison; of the comparative number of "stripes" which will be dealt out, on the one hand, to the servant who knew, and, on the other, to the servant who did not know, his Lord's will; of slothful and unfaithful servants being cast out into "outer darkness"; of an apparent forgiveness of sins "in the world to come" as well as "in this world"; of every man's work being "tried" or proved by "the fire," and of some being saved yet only "so as by fire."‡ The point to be observed, however, about all these "proof-texts" is that in no case can they be used as arguments in favour of Purgatory, for, be that which they describe what it may, the reference in every case is to a time succeeding, not preceding, the resurrection—a time, that is to say, when, according to the Latin doctrine, Purgatory will have ceased to exist. These "proof-texts" may, therefore, one and all be written off as quite beside the mark. They furnish no

* See Heb. xii. 22 *ff.*; Gal. iv. 26; Rev. ii. 7: xxi. 2; xx. 14.

† See St. Luke xxi. 28; John v. 24; Eph. iv. 30; 1 Thess. iv. 13; 2 Thess. i. 7; 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 John i. 7; iii. 14.

‡ See St. Matt. v. 26; St. Luke xii. 47, 48; St. Matt. viii. 12; xxii. 13; xxv. 30; xxiv. 51; xii. 22; 1 Cor. iii. 13, 15. *Cf. The Thirty-nine Articles.* By Bp. E. H. Browne. Ninth edition. London, 1871. Art. xxii., section ii., pp. 522-23.

evidence, one way or the other, with regard to the Latin Purgatory. And, these failing, there is no other evidence to fall back upon.

IV

Such is the proof, negative and positive, from Scripture, even considered by itself, in favour of the non-Latin as contrasted with the Latin view of the condition of the faithful departed between death and resurrection. But the test of tradition—that is, of Scripture as reinforced by a traditional interpretation traceable to the Apostles—must also be applied to the solving of the problem; and here again, as it seems to the present writer, the weight of the available evidence is preponderatingly, not to say overwhelmingly, on the side of the non-Latin view.

It is not denied that strange and eccentric opinions connected with great names were from time to time cherished and expressed in certain quarters in the early days of the Church,* but the general impression created by a study of the available evidence, Liturgical and Patristic, may be seen in the following extracts from the works of certain representative scholars, whose acquaintance with that evidence is beyond dispute and who, having explored antiquity, have put on record for the benefit of those who have neither the leisure nor the ability to explore it for themselves the results of their investigation. These extracts may be most conveniently arranged under two heads, according as they bear upon the witness of the Liturgies or the witness of the various writers of the Primitive Church.

I. The Witness of the Liturgies.

The Rev. J. M. [Neale,] D.D.: ". . . Observe here (1) one of the many examples of prayer for the dead as an Isapostolic practice; (2) that, nevertheless, every single expression contained in them militates against the doctrine of a purgatory—*i.e.*, in the sense of a place of pain. . . ."†

". . . The more they [the intercessions for the faithful departed which occur in the Liturgies] are examined, the more clearly two points will appear. 1. That prayers for the dead, and more especially the oblation of the blessed Eucharist for them, have been from the beginning the practice of the Universal Church. 2. And that without any idea of

* See *Purgatory : The State of the Faithful Departed : Invocation of Saints.* By A. J. Mason, D.D. Longmans, 1901, pp. 3-28. See also *The Thirty-nine Articles.* By Bp. E. H. Browne. Ninth edition. London, 1871. Art. xxii., section ii., pp. 522-25. The theory of a "Probatory Fire," not between death and judgment, but at the very Day of Judgment itself, was held by many Fathers both in East and West (*e.g.*, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Nazianzen. Basil, etc., and Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, etc.), but was afterwards abandoned.

† *The Primitive Liturgies.* Translated by the Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D., and the Rev. R. F. Littledale, LL.D. Seventh edition. Griffith Farran and Co., *Liturgy of St. Mark*, note (28), p. 18.

a purgatory of pain, or of any state from which the departed soul has to be delivered as from one of misery. . . ."*

The Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D.: ". . . In these Eucharistic prayers for the dead [in the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. James] there is nothing to favour the idea, which began to possess the Western Church from the time of Augustine, that penal suffering awaits the great majority of Christians in the intermediate state. The word "refreshment" (*refrigerium*), which occurs both in epitaphs and in liturgical prayers of an early date, means no more than rest from earthly toil and suffering, or the revival of the spiritual life, which follows departure; or, at most, relaxation of the discipline which may be necessary in the case of those who before death have advanced but a little way in the life of God. Purgatorial fire in the later sense is not in view even in liturgies which in their present form must be much later than the fourth century. . . ."†

II. The Witness of the Fathers.

Cardinal Fisher, Bp. of Rochester: ". . . Whoever reads the commentaries of the ancient Greeks, will find no mention, so far as I see, or the slightest possible concerning Purgatory. Nay, even the Latins did not all at once, but only gradually, enter into the truth of this matter. . . . For a while it was unknown, at a late date it was known, to the Church Universal. Then it was believed by some, by little and little, partly from Scripture, partly from revelations. . . ."‡

The Rev. W. Palmer, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, and Deacon: ". . . The doctrine of the Fathers and of the Early Church, of the present Greek or 'Orthodox' Church, and of all the other separated Eastern Churches is this, that, generally speaking, and upon the whole, the state of the faithful departed is a state of light, and rest, and peace, and refreshment, of happiness far greater than any belonging to this life yet inferior to that which shall be enjoyed after the resurrection and the final Judgment. . . ."§

The Rev. J. B. Mozley, D.D.: ". . . We do not see how any fair mind can deny that the New Testament as a whole throws a peaceful and tranquil character over the collective state of good Christian souls departed and that the established doctrine of Purgatory throws a directly contrary one; and that . . . the intermediate state to which good souls went after death has a paradisal character in inspired and primitive, and an infernal one in later, theology. . . ."‖

The Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A.: ". . . What I want to impress upon you are the two distinctive points of Roman belief, for which we can see no justification either in Holy Scripture or Patristic Theology—viz., the idea of prolonged and excessive torment and the necessity of paying a debt

* *Op. cit.*, Appendix ii., p. 248.

† *The Holy Catholic Church: The Communion of Saints.* By H. B. Swete, D.D. Macmillan, 1915., pp. 228-29.

‡ *Assert. Luther confutat*, 18. By Cardinal Fisher. *Ap. Tracts for the Times.* Rivington and Parker. 1839. Vol. iv., no. 79. On Purgatory, p. 50.

§ *Dissertations on the Eastern Catholic Communion.* By the Rev. W. Palmer. J. Masters. 1853. Dissert. viii., § x., pp. 124-25.

‖ *The Theory of Development.* By J. B. Mozley, D.D. Rivingtons, 1878, p. 53.

to satisfy God's penal justice. There is, of course, an immense difference between suffering whatever its amount as an imprisonment while working out a penal doom, and suffering as a means of purification in the hope of perfection. It is not possible to connect the former with the idea of rest and refreshment, though very possible to connect it with the latter. . . ."*

The Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D.: ". . . It is not to be wondered at that the doctrine [of a penal Purgatory], both in its popular acceptation and in its philosophical and reasoned form, should have been indignantly flung aside by our Reformers, when criticism once began. It was found to be 'grounded upon no warranty of Scripture.' It had no traditional connection with the Apostles and their teaching. If its genealogy can be traced higher than to St. Augustine, it must be traced to the Ethnic Speculations which the great Eclectic Teacher of Alexandria joined to a Christian faith. It was not the doctrine of the Fathers. What the Schoolmen added to the patristic texts made a new doctrine of it altogether. . . ."†

". . . The Western doctrine owes its origin, so far as can now be traced, to the speculations of a master-mind. Augustine is the first of the Fathers to enunciate his belief in a purgatory proper—a purgatory previous to the Judgment Day—and in so doing he shows incidentally how much diversity of opinion with regard to such subjects existed in his time, and that there was no constant or authoritative tradition about them in the Church. . . ."‡

". . . [Augustine] was the first to distinguish clearly . . . between purgatory and hell—hell retributive and purgatory corrective; hell never ending and purgatory ending with the Judgment Day; hell for the un-Christian world and for great sinners among Christians; purgatory for Christians who in spite of weaknesses have been true at bottom to their faith. That he himself believed the existence of such a purgatory is clear; yet he treats it only as an opinion, which 'perhaps is true.' He 'will not dispute it.' It is to him 'not beyond belief. . . .' The influence of [Augustine] was sufficient to establish that opinion. Nevertheless, it was still no more than an opinion when Gregory the Great took the question up. . . . Evidently the belief was no part of the Catholic tradition, but a matter of interesting enquiry. A whole flood of new light purported to have been thrown upon the conditions of the dead by recent apparitions and revelations. It could not be pretended that either Scripture or ancient tradition had taught what now began to be believed. The doctrine of purgatory was constructed in part out of the speculations of [Augustine], but more out of the blood-curdling tales of Gregory. . . . Even Thomas Aquinas was led to base his teaching, to a great extent, . . . upon 'revelations made to many.' . . ."§

". . . At the Council of Florence in 1439 the Greeks, after setting forth at Ferrara a series of propositions in which the doctrine of purgatory was rejected, came to terms with the Latins; but the compromise was not ratified by the acceptance of the East. It is only since that period that

* *The Roman Question.* By the Rev. T. T. Carter. Second edition. J. Masters, 1890. Letter xiv., pp. 155-57.

† *Purgatory: The State of the Faithful Departed: Invocation of Saints.* By A J. Mason, D.D. Longmans, 1901., pp. 54, 55.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

§ *Op. cit.*, pp. 38-52.

the doctrine of purgatory, in a modified form,* has been authoritatively accepted and taught among them. . . ."†

". . . To speak generally, the prayers of the Primitive Church for the faithful departed were such as presupposed, on the one hand, that they were in a state of happiness and security, but, on the other, not in that full and perfect state of bliss which we are taught ultimately to look forward to. They were neither thought of as suffering in a mediæval purgatory, nor yet as possessed of what we commonly speak of as heaven. There was no fixed and technical name to describe their state, although the Scriptural title of 'Abraham's Bosom' was frequently given to it; but it was fairly understood to be an intermediate condition between the state of salvation upon earth and the consummation which comes at the resurrection—a life 'with Christ,' which is 'far better' than the present and yet falling far short of that which is to be hereafter. . . ."‡

The Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D.: ". . . The doctrine, as Aquinas states it [the division of the Faithful Departed into souls beatified and souls suffering], has no support either from the New Testament or from primitive Christianity. That certain of the saints are already in heaven while the rest remain in an intermediate state of purgatorial discipline is no part of the Apostolic tradition, which represents all who die in the Lord as already with Him, not indeed in their final rest, but awaiting it in Paradise. . . ."§

V

Such is the impression, seemingly quite uniform, created in the minds of the various representative theologians and scholars just quoted from by their personal and independent study of the great Liturgies and authors of Primitive Christendom. And that impression speaks surely for itself. Clearly tradition, no less than Scripture and quite as emphatically as Scripture, supports the non-Latin as against the Latin view of the Intermediate State of the faithful departed. But, if this be so, it follows inevitably that that view (the non-Latin) must be accepted as entitled to take rank not merely as a revealed truth, but also as an integral portion of "the faith once delivered to the saints," whereas the Latin view, for all its pretensions to be the one only "reasoned and scientific," nay, the one only "Catholic," presentation of the subject, must as inevitably be dismissed as being at best but a mere human speculation—a speculation in itself as mistaken and misleading as it is externally lacking in any satisfactory sanction.

This article may now be fittingly closed by two brief but quasi-authoritative pronouncements, both drawn from Eastern Orthodox, that is to say, non-Latin, sources. The first of these pronouncements is from a Greek Orthodox source:

". . . The one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the

* See note on p. 267. † *Op. cit.*, p. 22. ‡ *Op.cit.*, pp. 77, 78.
§ *The Holy Catholic Church: the Communion of Saints.* By H. B. Swete, D.D Macmillan, 1915, pp. 235-36.

Seven Œcumenical Councils, in accordance with the inspired teaching of Holy Scripture and with the apostolic tradition of old, prays and invokes the mercy of God for pardon and repose of them that are asleep in the Lord. But the papal Church, from the twelfth century onward, invented and accumulated in the person of the Pope—as sole possessor of privileges—a multitude of innovations touching a purgatorial fire, touching the superabundance of merits in saints, and their distribution to those in need of them, and such like; and she has furthermore propounded (the belief in) a complete recompense of the righteous before the universal resurrection and judgment. . . ."*

The second pronouncement is from a Russian Orthodox source:

" . . . Q. In what condition are the souls of the departed until the general resurrection ?

" A. The souls of the just are in light and peace, and enjoy a foretaste of everlasting bliss; but the souls of the sinful are in a condition the reverse of this.

" Q. Why do not the souls of the just enjoy the consummation of their bliss immediately after death ?

" A. Because it has been fore-ordained that the full recompense of the whole man shall be delayed until the resurrection of the body and the last judgment (2 Tim. iv. 8; 2 Cor. v. 10).

" Q. Does the foretaste of bliss include the actual vision of Jesus Christ Himself ?

" A. It does so especially in the case of the saints, for St. Paul sems to imply as much when he says, ' I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ ' (Phil. i. 23). . . ."†

A. L. Innes.

A FEW THEOLOGICAL "FINDS"

I rarely strike the happy hunting grounds of the book-lover—Charing Cross Road, Praed Street, and other localities—without being aware of some of my brethren hovering about stall and window, *doyens* of the Church Expectant. I would fain hope that, like myself, they are questing for theological rarities, and not for Nonconformist volumes for Anglican adaptation (though some of us might do worse than that !). Animated by the true spirit of the chase, inspired by the hope of chancing on *A Few*

* *Reply of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church of the East to the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on Reunion.* Third edition. J. and E. Bumpus. 1896. Art. xii., p. 7.

† Extract from a Catechism sent by the Archpriest Janyschew to Dr. Döllinger. Ap. *Report of the Proceedings at the Reunion Conference held at Bonn.* Sept. 14, 15 and 16, 1874. Rivingtons. 1875. Sixth Conference, p. 83, note.

Sighs from Hell, or a 1652 Crashaw, or haply *The Pulpit Lunaticks*, we may have as pretty a bit of sport as any who "go a-angling," or stalk deer in the land of the Solemn League and Covenant. Let me recount a few adventures of my own *pour encourager les autres*—which, in a votary of the chase, is generous to the verge of charity!

Diving one day into a "twopenny box"—that sole survivor of the joys of Holywell Street—I brought up a little morocco-bound copy of the *Lyra Apostolica*, "Derby, Henry Mozley and Sons, 1836." On the fly-leaf at the end are pencilled the names of those who severally signed their poems with the first five letters of the Greek alphabet. The list may be of interest to those who possess unsigned copies of the work: (α) Bowden; (β) Froude; (γ) Keble; (δ) N.; (ε) Isaac Williams; (ζ) Wilberforce. Note the "N." These scribblings were made in the year 1845! How eloquent is that blank space of the sorrow, perhaps awe, which the thought of the lost leader inspired!

It was in a little shop near King's Cross that I chanced on the two slender volumes which occupy the same shelf with the *Lyra*—the first issue of the *Christian Year* in 1827. Their exquisite type and large margins seem instinct with the gentle piety one associates with their author—reticent, scholarly, somewhat insular. It is remarkable that so clerically minded a book should have received a response so immediate and so enduring. This, no doubt, was partly due, as Sir John Coleridge intimates, to its scripturalness; but partly it is to be attributed to the fact that it followed the lines of public devotion. There had been nothing quite like it previously in all the wealth with which English Churchmen had enriched our national verse. I fear I have never been able to say of it, to adopt the author's own exquisite simile:

> As for some dear familiar strain
> Untired we ask, and ask again;
> Ever in its melodious store
> Finding a spell unheard before.

Yet, like "Wordsworth's soothing power"—and much akin—these slender volumes open up a phase of faith, a habit of thought, a devotion to "humdrum" duty into which it is good to retire at seasons. This first issue closes, of course, with the "Commination"; the remaining poems, on King Charles the Martyr, Gunpowder Treason, the Accession, and even Ordination, were added in the fourth edition, in the following year.

The Oxford Movement contributed more to the classics of the English Church and of our literature generally than did the earlier revival, or, indeed, than any movement since that which gave us the Authorized Version and the Book of Common

Prayer. Perhaps we are still too conscious of the controversy then aroused to recognize the merit of the *Tracts* as literature; but I take the "liberty of prophesying" that a future Humphrey Milford, if not the present—and long may he live!—will issue in pocket form the work of Isaac Williams, and "Tract XC."; while long as English prose endures the following, to take but one passage from the *Tracts*, will claim rank beside Burke's *Discontents* and the *Areopagitica*:

> "I am but one of yourselves—a Presbyter. . . . Yet speak I must, for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them. . . . Consider a moment. Is it fair, is it dutiful, to suffer our bishops to stand the brunt of the battle without doing our part to support them? Upon them comes 'the care of all the churches.' This cannot be helped; indeed, it is their glory. Not one of us would wish to deprive them of the duties, the toils, the responsibilities of their high office. And, black event as it would be for the country, yet (as far as they are concerned) we could not wish them a more blessed termination of their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom."

The bishops at the time may have thought otherwise, and, as a matter of fact, many of them did; but the *Tracts* continued to pour forth, written by men who not only knew their Cicero, but were steeped in the tradition of English prose. The set I possess—each Tract a first issue—came from a country rectory and was given me by the son of a man who had helped to distribute them. Newman, it will be remembered, records in the *Apologia* that he and his colleagues in the movement visited the homes of country clergy with parcels of these tracts; and I like to think that some, at least, in my collection were handled by the great Tractarian.

A few years ago I discovered in the attic of a bookseller eight little dusty volumes that have an equal claim to classic rank, but have been curiously neglected—*The Lives of the Saints*, written by Newman and his companions towards the close of the former's connection with the Church of England. In the *Apologia*, if I remember aright, there is an incomplete list of the series and the contributors. This edition is that published by James Toovey, 36, St. James Street, London, and the date is 1844-45.

Far less known is a little book that appeared shortly after that time, *From Oxford to Rome, and how it fared with some who lately made the Journey*, by a Companion Traveller. Who this *viator* was, I have never been able to discover, but he certainly achieved a "human document." For pathos, I do not think I know its equal in modern prose. It is a variant on the theme: "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Sion." It may be said strikingly to

anticipate certain experiences, long afterwards edited by the late Wilfrid Ward.

I mentioned just now *A Few Sighs from Hell*, which, as everyone knows, was Bunyan's earliest published writing. In its original issue, 1658, this work is excessively rare, and anyone who can report a copy to the present writer will be doing a charitable work! But though the "sighs" of the inferno have been denied me, the "praise" of it came into my hands in a back street in Paddington not so long ago for the sum of fourpence! (I recently saw it "listed" at two guineas.) As perhaps might be expected, the *Praise of Hell* is also an anonymous work. It professes to be a translation from the French, though this may have been a ruse on the lines of "protective mimicry." From the style and printing it appears to be an early eighteenth-century production. Its contents bespeak it a sort of cross between a Baedecker (or should I say Muirhead?) and a *Who's Who*. For example: "Hell, an admirable place on account of its situation." "Its easiness of access." "The excellence of Hell with regard to good neighbourhood." "Of the pleasures and recreations to be met with in Hell, and of the very magnificent and curious shows to be seen." "Of Hell as a dwelling for the learned." "Persons descended from noble families here meet their ancestors." "By whom the first, second . . . sixth rank in Hell are occupied." "Of the virtues which prevail in Hell—chiefly justice." Lastly—dare I transcribe it?—"Of a Parliament of women in Hell." Such are some of the chapter headings, and very "diverting" the contents prove. I have not used it much in the pulpit, although I agree with the old saw that "a satire may hit him who would fly a sermon."

Two monarchs we have had eminent for theology, and though I do not possess a "first" of that book against Luther which won Henry the title of *Fidei Defensor* (it is curious, by the way, that Henry's first book *On Vocal Prayer*, so admired by Wolsey, should have entirely vanished), I did "pick up" the "unconsidered trifle" of the *Daemonologiae, in Forme of a Dialogue, Diuided into three bookes Written by the high and mightie Prince James*. "Printed by Arnold Hatfield for Robert Wald-grave in 1603." I am disposed to take "the high and mightie Prince James" *cum grano* on account of a certain *Counterblast to Tobacco*, but on the subject of "Daemonologie" he seems to have been exceptionally well-informed—as Sir Walter Scott was aware. Another work of a somewhat similar character, of which I am reminded by the "first" before me, is Drelincourt, *On Death*, to which is subjoined Mrs. Crowe's *Night Side of Nature*. Whereby hangs a tale, for I believe Drelincourt

proved such a drug in the market that but for the nuptials arranged with Mrs. Crowe the poor gentleman would never have "got off" at all!

How largely fear seems to have entered into the religious compositions of our ancestors, especially on the eve of the Evangelical revival! Its decay to-day might form a useful theme for discussion. Certainly death would seem to be an indispensable introduction to the unknown; and in the days of Crabbe and Cowper, death and the fear of death appear to have been the popular topics of religion. Here, for example, is a copy of Hervey's *Meditations among the Tombs*, and inscribed therein: "John Berridge from William Grimshaw, 1748"—Grimshaw of Haworth to Berridge of Everton!—and given the year after the *Meditations* were published, while Hervey was still curate of Bideford, and Grimshaw had fifteen more years in which to horsewhip his parishioners into church. And here also is Blair's *Grave*, with Blake's oft-repeated theme of "Death's Door" as frontispiece. And beside it stands a tall copy of Young's *Night Thoughts*, like Blair, not a "first," but, even better, containing a few of the 537 drawings designed by Blake for the work—the originals of which, as I gather from Dr. A. Edward Newton,* are in the possession of Mr. W. A. White of New York.

As I began this little paper by alluding to some of the literary products of the Oxford Movement, I cannot do better than close by thus mentioning the three works which were to the earlier movement, to Wilberforce, Thornton, Gisborne, and young Henry Martyn, what Nelson, Butler, and, in a sense, Scott, were to the more historic movement that followed. Three works I said, but should have added another, now practically unheard of—the *Theron and Aspasio* of James Hervey, first issued in 1752, the date my copy bears. This work was far more famous among evangelical circles than even the *Meditations*. No doubt to turn from the *Christian Year* and the pages of the *Apologia*—if it is lawful to include the latter in the literature of the Oxford Movement—to those of Blair and Hervey and Young is like exchanging the simple lucidity of clear water for troubled depths, haunted by terrors and encumbered with wreckage. Yet the men, like the period to which they belong, repay study, if only for the discipline of acquiring for a time their idiom.

Such are a few "finds" that may encourage others in the quest. Let me in conclusion present my brethren with a "tip." Go not always into the way of the bookseller, but turn aside into byways and alleys and search the "emporia" of second-

* *A Magnificent Farce.* G.P. Putnam's Sons. London, 1922, p. 216.

hand clothing and crazy furniture. It will require courage, but the rewards are in proportion. For amongst the jetsam of the poorer kind of auctions may sometimes be included treasures of whose value dealers in more exterior commodities have not the faintest notion. Thus, to quit theology a moment, was it not in such unsavoury quarters that I recently discovered no less than six "firsts" of Stevenson! I blush to recall the price I paid, yet I stoutly maintain I paid every penny the dealer asked. A friend of mine, a far better man, improved upon my ethics and offered a similar dealer as many shillings for some rarity as he had asked pence. Whereupon the dealer, suspecting the volume might be worth as many pounds, refused to part with it! It is ill combining the functions of purchaser and instructor. One thing at a time, and—if you will—instruction second!

T. J. HARDY.

NOTE.—The aorist participles in Heb. i. 3, vii. 27, x. 12:

Mr. Lowther-Clarke's note on Luke x. 18 (THEOLOGY, August, p. 103) suggests a possible solution of one of the chief difficulties in the interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The aorist participle in the above passages, if taken to imply a past time, would involve the conclusion that the Sacrificial Offering was completed before the Ascension. This is in contradiction to viii. 1-4, ix. 24, 25, and, indeed, the whole trend of chapter ix. But if "especially in the participle, the aorist is absolutely timeless, not even relatively past," the case is different. The consistent teaching of the Epistle will be that the Priestly Offering in Heaven continues the Sacrificial Death on the Cross. In all three passages this use of the timeless aorist is quite possible from the point of view of the grammar. They would translate as follows: "making purification of sins, he sat down" (i. 3); "this he did once for all in offering himself" (vii. 27); "offering one sacrifice for ever, he sat down" (x. 12). In the first two cases this is even probably the sense of the passage. In chapter x., however, the general run of the context makes it much more doubtful.

S. C. GAYFORD.

MISCELLANEA

NOTES AND COMMENTS

With reference to a note in our August issue entitled "Oded and the Ruhr," a correspondent draws our attention to Matthew Henry's comment *in loc.*, and to the fact that the Rev. C. J. Ball in Ellicott's Commentary alludes to the view that the incident was in our Lord's mind when He uttered the parable of the Good Samaritan.

Teaching Papers (S.P.C.K., 1s. 6d. per 100) are a series of short instructions by the Bishop of Bloemfontein and Mr. Lowther Clarke which should be valuable in parochial work.

STUDIES IN TEXTS

1 Cor. xi. 20, 21: *συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν· ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ ὃς δὲ μεθύει.*

When therefore ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord's Supper; for in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken (R.V.)

An amendment has been framed to the Prayerbook Revision Measure, to provide that "commonly called the Eucharist" shall follow the title of Holy Communion. The obvious objection is that the Lord's Supper is the Scriptural phrase and Eucharist should not be put on an equal footing with it. But at best there is no more than a probability that the Lord's Supper existed as a title in apostolic times. In the one passage where it occurs a literal translation would be "to eat a *dominical* supper; for each one taketh his *private* supper." Κυριακός is an adjective, common in inscriptions = "imperial," *i.e.*, belonging to the *Dominus* or κύριος, the Emperor. Here it is an adjective opposed to ἴδιον, though having no word Dominical in common use we rightly render it by a noun in the genitive, "the Lord's." The absence of the article makes the existence of the title highly problematical.

No other title in the New Testament has any better claim. "The Breaking of the Bread" (Luke xxiv. 35, Acts ii. 42) describes part of the rite only, and in any case the Eucharistic reference is disputed. In 1 Cor. xiv. 16 the Eucharist is clearly intended, but the translation "say the Amen at thy giving of thanks" is alone possible. "Communion" in 1 Cor. x. 16 is more accurately translated by R.V. margin, "a participation in" the blood (body) of Christ. ἡ κοινωνία is a technical term for the contribution made to the saints at Jerusalem.

We pass on to the sub-apostolic age with these results.

The names *Breaking of the Bread, The Communion, The Lord's Supper* are found neither in the Apostolic Fathers nor in the Greek Apologists.

Eucharist on the other hand occurs several times. Thus: Didache ix. 5 "Let none eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptized in the Lord's name"; Ignatius, *Philad.* iv., "Be careful to use one Eucharist," *Smyrn.* viii. 1, "Let that be considered a valid Eucharist. . . ." And Justin, writing to explain Church customs to outsiders, says (*Apol.* lxvi. 1): "This food among us is called Eucharist."

Of the other titles *Liturgy* is distinctively Eastern; *Mass* occurs first in St. Ambrose, *Ep.* xx. 4.

W. K. L. C.

St. Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25: *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.*

The object of this note is to throw out for discussion the suggestion that a slightly different allusion and meaning lie in the words *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* from those which have been generally assumed. Not that there has been an universal agreement in the past. The ordinary translation has been "do these acts," take bread, break, distribute, eat (so Estius: ut id facient quod Christus, id est, consecrent, offerant, aliisque distribuant corpus domini). Others have fallen back on the technical use of *ποιεῖν*="to offer," "make this your offering," a meaning which Estius sets aside as decisively as most modern commentators (*cf.* Plummer on St. Luke, *ad loc.*). But may it not be that we have here another and wider technical use of *ποιεῖν* under which whatever is true in both the preceding thoughts would be included? I mean the use of *ποιεῖν* = to keep, to celebrate, a festival. The phrase *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα* is common in the LXX in this sense; it survived in New Testament Greek. (Heb. xi. 28, *πίστει πεπόιηκε τὸ πάσχα*, *cf.* the Western text of Acts xviii. 21, *δεῖ με τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι.*) In the morning the Lord had sent the request to His friend in Jerusalem, *πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα* (Matt. xxvi. 18): is it not then natural that when in the evening He used the same word *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* He meant *τοῦτο πάσχα ποιεῖτε*? *This* is the passover which you are to keep henceforth, (*τοῦτο* thrown into the emphatic position before *ποιεῖτε*): no longer the Jewish passover, the commemoration of the deliverance of a nation from slavery, but the commemoration of what I have done, of the deliverance of all human nature from the power of sin and death: no longer the body of the lamb to be eaten, but My body: no longer the mere blood of the vine to be drunk, but My blood. This idea would seem to underlie St. Paul's adaptation of the Passover in 1 Cor. v. 8, *καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη χριστὸς· ὥστε ἑορτάζωμεν*: and the treatment of the Eucharist as the Christian Passover is common in the Fathers, though I do not know that it is supported by reference to this phrase.

The following words *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* are quite consistent with this interpretation, and perhaps strengthen the case for it. It is to be remembered that while *ἀνάμνησις* sometimes means "remembrance" and *ἀναμιμνήσκω* "I remember" in Hellenistic Greek, yet this is not the proper or fullest meaning of them: which is "a reminder" and "I remind." Thus, 1 Kings xvii. 18, *εἰσῆλθες πρὸς με τοῦ ἀναμνῆσαι ἀδικίας μου*, "to call my sins to remembrance," and *ὁ ἀναμιμνήσκων* was the official title of the king's "Remembrancer" (2 Kings xviii. 18, 37); hence

εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν is not merely "that you may remember me," but "that you may remind others of me." If we ask further whom were they to remind, the answer is twofold: there are two links with the Old Testament which may lie behind the phrase.

(1) The first points manward. The link is with the Passover. They are to take the place of the Jewish father at the Passover. To him it had been said, "Thou shalt tell thy son in that day (ἀναγγελεῖς τῷ υἱῷ σου) saying, It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine head and for a memorial (μνημόσυνον) between thine eyes, that the law of the Lord may be in thy mouth" (Exod. xiii. 8, 9; *cf.* 14-16). The Apostles are therefore to remind each other, to remind the coming generation, and the Church has to hand on the facts and meaning of the death and resurrection of the Lord from generation to generation, and remind the whole world of what has been done for it. St. Paul's words, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε (*cf.* ἀναγγελεῖς *supra*) become in fact his comment upon the word ἀνάμνησιν, and, in the earliest account outside the New Testament of the Eucharist, Justin Martyr follows up the narrative of the Institution with the comment ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τούτων ἀλληλοὺς ἀναμιμνήσκομεν (*Apol.* i. 66, 67).

(2) The second link points Godward. The exact phrase points more exactly to the phrase εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, which is used to translate two different Hebrew words, derived from the same root meaning "to remember," but used in each case with reference to God and in connection with the thought of offering. Thus of the frankincense placed upon the shewbread, ἔσονται εἰς ἄρτους εἰς ἀνάμνησιν προκειμένα τῷ κυρίῳ (Lev. xxiv. 7), perhaps "to remind men of the Lord—an acknowledgment that all man's daily bread was a divine gift" (McNeile on Exod. xxv. 31); again, of the blowing of the trumpets after the offering of sacrifices, ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τῶν σωτηρίων ὑμῶν καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἀνάμνησις ἔναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμων (Numb. x. 10), "to secure God's attention" (Dr. Buchanan Gray, *ad. loc.*). In either case the thought of God is brought in. "To secure God's attention, to remind God" is doubtless very anthropomorphic and was probably interpreted very anthropomorphically by the Jews; but for us it means at least this, that when we think of the life and death of Christ we think of it as divine, as eternal, as universal in its scope, as the one true, pure, immortal sacrifice which alone is worthy of being presented before God, and that we should so regard it may well have been in the Lord's mind. The link with the Passover lifts every Eucharist into a joyous festival for the deliverance of humanity: the words εἰς ἀνάμνησιν press the missionary duty of proclaiming this deliverance to the world.

WALTER LOCK.

BIBLICA

A correspondent (September, p. 174) asks about the Synagogue Lectionary. He will find a complete list of the Pentateuchal Lessons (*Parashoth*) with the corresponding *Haphtaroth* from the Prophets, for the fifty-three Sabbaths of the year, and for the Festivals, etc., at the end of Vol. I. of Stier and Theile's *Polyglott*.

Of course, "prophets" includes the later historical books, Joshua as well as Isaiah.

But Chronicles is *not* in the list. It is the last book in Hebrew Bibles,

being part of the Hagiographa, not of "the Law and the Prophets." Similarly, perhaps, the Epistles in the Anglican group of Prayer Books are in no case taken from 2 Peter. There is one from Jude.

In the list mentioned above, the variations between the Spanish and the German customs are given in footnotes.

GEORGE FARMER.

In his article "Adversaria Exegetica" in THEOLOGY for September, Rev. E. C. Hoskyns opens out some lines of thought worth pursuing further. One detail may be criticized, not out of opposition, but sympathetically.

To interpret the Lord's quotation, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad" (Mark xiv. 27) as alluding to the mission of disciples among the nations after His death, is surely impossible. This would force the figure, and put it out of line with all similar language used by Him. Sheep whose shepherd is struck down are scattered *helpless* (*cf.* Mark. vi. 34). Such scattering is not the shepherd's act, but the wolf's (*cf.* John x. 13). But another allusion might be intended, putting the quotation into closer connection with the proposed interpretation of "Galilee" as suggesting the region of the nations which are to see a great light, and one which is in line with the Lord's language elsewhere. The "sheep" may be Israel, not the disciples. "The lost sheep of the house of Israel" are spoken of in Matt. xv. 24; and Jesus said, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice" (John x. 16) in reference to Israel, and the wider mission to come. Thus Mark xiv. 27-28 might mean that Jesus' own rejection and death will involve that of Israel, the chosen flock of Jehovah; nevertheless, this will not frustrate the Divine purpose, but enlarge it. The death will lead on to resurrection; and for Israel will be substituted a Galilee of all the nations who will see light spring up, and become one flock with one Shepherd. So taken the saying is a germ out of which St. Paul's train of thought in Rom. ix-xi. might grow.

Hordle Vicarage. E. P. BOYS-SMITH.

If a mere parish priest may venture to criticise Mr. Ball and Dr. Gore on the interpretation of 2 Cor. iii. 17-18, I would like to ask if the question of the personality of the Spirit really comes in here; and I am the more emboldened to do so by the fact that W. and H. (in my smaller edition, 1885) do not give capitals in v. 17 (as you do, in THEOLOGY, March, p. 166), except to the quoted word Κυρίου.

Bengel gives the line, "Christus non est litera, sed est Spiritus (capital S) et finis legis . . . Conversio fit ad Dominum, ut spiritum" (small s), which clearly takes up the words in v. 6: τὸ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ. What the Apostle has in mind is the contrast between "letter" and "spirit": that is, the Mosaic system (as administered by his Judaizing opponents) and the Christian dispensation. If one may say so, St. Paul (who, on "the word of Scripture," writes some things hard to be understood) gets rather "hung up" in his brilliant analogy of Moses and the veil, etc; and in v. 17 does his best to come down to his point by explaining that by the word Κύριος we understand the Christian dispensation (before referred to as τὸ πνεῦμα). And

where τὸ πνεῦμα—*i.e.*, the spiritual purpose or intention of the system is Κυρίου, belonging to "our Lord," there is liberty.

If we refer to iv. 5 below, κηρύσσομεν Χριστον Ιησοῦν Κύριον, we see that it is this thought that is dominant here in the Apostle's mind, the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

A. H. STANTON.

LITURGICA

La Vie et les Arts liturgiques is a monthly magazine founded in 1915 by the late Dom Besse and edited since 1921 by the indefatigable Dom Cabrol. Judging by the numbers to hand—more particularly those for January to July, 1923, here summarized—it must have gone far to serve its purpose of providing the general reader (both clerical and lay), not with erudite liturgical researches, but with "une doctrine, une inspiration, une éducation, un guide de spiritualité et de piété, en un mot une vie liturgique" (April, 1921) by means of short, simple articles by experts on a large variety of matters bearing upon public worship and devotions. This year, for instance, there have been a French translation of the very early (Paschal) hymn, *Rex æterne Domine*, a quaint French hymn (thirteenth century) found in MS. 106 Emman. Coll., Camb., *Mon cœur me dit que dois aimer* and, above all, a French text of the *Anima Christi*, likewise thirteenth century, and found in a Book of Hours in the Bishop's Library, Southwark. Then there is, as a rule, each month a useful exegetical and devotional commentary on the liturgical teaching of some portion of the lections or services occurring just then—*e.g.*, in January the Offertoriums for the three Sundays before Lent, in February the Temptation of our Lord, in March the Sunday called *Lætare* (*i.e.*, the fourth in Lent), and so on. Those of the faithful who study these articles are no doubt duly edified: in our Prayer Book there is hardly enough variation in the forms provided (except the Bible lections) for an Anglican journal to follow suit.

It is perhaps of more practical importance for English Church folk to have their attention drawn to other elements in this periodical. To begin with there is the evidence it affords of a strong conviction that a revival of healthy religious life and practice is in progress in France and, let us hope, in many other parts of the Roman obedience, and that this is due, and must continue to be, to method and order and common sense (if we may say so) in the use of all means at men's disposal (education, the fine arts, and so forth). We take it that the influence of Pius X. was largely responsible for this, and the mention of his *Motu proprio* in connection with the Congrès de Chant Gregorien of Paris, December, 1922, two of the speeches at which are reproduced here, bears out this impression. We may note, too, that Pius XI. seems to be already acting on similar lines: for in January there is a short account of his recent letter on the study of Latin for the clergy, following rather suggestively upon an exhortation by Père Guy de Réomé to his confrères on the way "to revive a parish." Again, in April, Dom A. Cabassut describes and discusses "le renouveau liturgique et l'épiscopat," where he begins with these significant words: "Il est consolant de voir les progrès que fait en France sous l'impulsion de nos evêques la restauration de la vie liturgique et du chant sacre." The reference here to increased attention to Church music tallies with many other indications throughout these numbers: in particular the June No. contains Paul Berthier's address

"sur l'écriture moderne de la musique d'eglise" at the Paris Congress mentioned above, while in July we have R. P. Rouet de Journel discussing on the same occasion the part which the faithful may legitimately be expected to take in such music, and likewise Dom Cabassut describing the progress made therein "dans l'esprit public." Pronouncements are likewise included on the kindred arts of Church architecture, of coloured window-glass (so far as our observation goes, a greatly needed subject for reform among Roman Catholics even more than among Anglicans), and of picture painting and sculpture: on such matters the most striking deliverance is by Maurice Denis on "la crise de l'Art religieux moderne" (April), in which recent developments are vigorously defended; for him Jacques Maritain in his *Art et Scolastique* sums up what is essential: "Si vous voulez faire une œuvre chrétienne, soyez chrétien et cherchez à faire une œuvre belle, où vous mettiez votre cœur" . . . il cite cette belle formule scolastique: *operatio sequitur esse*. . . . "L'œuvre sera chrétienne dans la mesure où l'amour sera vivant."

Lastly, it is reassuring to read several articles which point to restraint and good sense being exercised (or urged) on minor matters of ritual, where we too may perhaps in some cases take timely warning. For instance, in February, Père Boulfard writes very wisely on "des interludes executés par l'orgue au cours des fonctions liturgiques," in June Dom Baudot on "l'attitude du corps pendant les offices liturgiques," and Père Bayart on the use of "la clochette pendant la messe," while Dom Cabassut makes suitable suggestions on the construction and furnishing of the Altar in two short articles, and promises a third to complete.

This rather bald summary may give some idea of the value of the contents of the magazine. It will be understood that even so many of the useful matters brought forward have not been mentioned at all.

C. L. Feltoe.

BOOK NOTES

The Religious Practice of the English Churchman. By A. T. Cameron. Faith Press. 2s. 6d.

Short chapters on Church life, the Sacraments, almsgiving, etc., by an experienced village priest. Probably a shorter book which could have been sold at a shilling would have been more useful for the class for which it is designed. The printing is not up to the publisher's usual standard of excellence.

Notes on the Celebration of the Eucharist. By H. C. Bell. Mowbray. 1s. 6d.

A useful little book which will make for greater liturgical uniformity. "The greater part of the notes refer to what is done by the priest at the Altar, and the probability is that they could be followed in any church in which the eastward position is taken with very few, if any, of the congregation being aware that any alteration had taken place."

The Secrets of the Religious Life. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 3s.

An American book, with a Preface by the Archbishop of St. Paul, containing a translation of a French book of 1646, in which a Jesuit gives spiritual directions to a nun, including her advice as regards duties of a superior and novice-mistress. Fragrant though it is of seventeenth-century piety, its appeal to-day is but limited.

W. K. L. C.

REVIEWS

EMERGENT EVOLUTION*

It is an unthankful task to attempt an account of a work like Dr. Lloyd Morgan's Gifford Lectures while half of it still remains unpublished. It may well be that when the distinguished biologist comes to deliver the remaining lectures of the series, points which perplex a reader of the ten discourses now issued will become clear and the criticisms which now seem pertinent may prove misdirected. Still I must venture to make a few remarks on the argument as it stands, always, to use a catchword of the author's own, " under acknowledgment." After all, if I have been led astray by inability to divine the developments which are to follow, the fault can hardly be said to be mine. Considerations of space, as well as my incompetency in the departments of knowledge which Dr. Morgan has made most specially his own, compel me to confine myself to one or two very general ultimate issues, though there is a great deal of psychological detail, connected especially with the trustworthiness of vision as a source of information about the " real world," which deserves and demands the close and minute discussion it will, no doubt, receive.

The readers of Theology, however, will probably be more anxious to know where Dr. Morgan stands on the question of the reality of our knowledge of God than to be told where he agrees or disagrees with Mr. Bergson or Mr. Bertrand Russell about the structure of the physical world. I can do no more here than to present them with a succinct account of the position taken up on this cardinal question, so far as I understand it. The position is pretty fairly summed up in the few sentences printed on the " wrapper " of the volume. The business of the student of the natural sciences is to deal with the process of evolution, in the course of which organization, life, intelligence have successively appeared on the scene of history, and he is to deal with the process, to use a phrase which Dr. Morgan repeats so constantly that it ends by becoming a rather tiresome mannerism, " in a spirit of natural piety." (This seems to mean that he is to " take things as he finds them," and is not at liberty to mutilate them to suit any preconceived theory of his own.) Also, the method adopted is to be strictly " naturalistic." I am not sure exactly what this condition amounts to, mainly because I feel a difficulty about a very important methodological point. If a Positivist tells me that he requires science to be rigidly

* The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St. Andrews, in the year 1922, C. Lloyd Morgan, F.R.S. London. Williams and Norgate, 1923, pp. xii., 313. 15s. net.

naturalistic, I know what he means. He means that the aim of science is to be the provision of a compendious and manageable formula describing what actually happens; the attempt to get behind description of the *how* to explanation of the *why* is to be wholly relegated to the lumber-room of superseded "metaphysics." Hence the consistent Positivist is necessarily always a pure phenomenalist. Science means to him description of "appearances"; what, if anything, it is that appears, and what we to whom the appearances "appear" are, he regards as illegitimate questions. But I am not sure how Dr. Morgan stands to this Comtist phenomenalism, and I doubt whether he is quite clear about the matter in his own mind. It is plain that he wants to be as phenomenalist as he can, even to the point of making the very existence of a physical world which is there whether any one attends to it or not a matter for "acknowledgment" and not for knowledge; on the other hand, though he thinks science can do its work without the "acknowledgment," he personally chooses, for unexplained reasons, to make it, and more than once he distinguishes between describing and explaining, and plainly holds that his own account of evolution is something more than a descriptive formula. But I confess I am in the dark as to the precise difference he would make between an explanation and a mere description. I can only hope that the second part of his course of lectures may contain something to enlighten me.

To return to my exposition. When we look at nature in the "spirit of natural piety," it becomes clear that the later results of the evolutionary process contain something which is genuinely new and was not present in the earlier stages. As time goes on, there appear genuinely new qualities; the history of nature is not one of a simple rearrangement of what has been there all along. In particular, life, when it makes its appearance, is something new; it arises "on a basis" of physico-chemical processes, but it is not itself simply a rather more complex system of physico-chemical processes. Similarly, mental life arises on a basis of vital organic processes, but it is not itself a more complicated vital process, it is genuinely *mental*. This is why Dr. Morgan describes his own theory as one of "emergent" evolution. The resultant of a development "arises out of" the processes which have gone before, but it is a new kind of process, at a "higher" level. At the same time, the insistence on a strictly "naturalistic" method forbids us to demand, as conditions of the "emergence" of the new, anything but the antecedent "lower-level" processes. We must not introduce the conception of a transcendent source of the whole evolutionary process, unfolding different powers at the different

levels; that would be to break with the naturalistic method. The method requires us to find the necessary and sufficient condition for the " emergence " of the new in the existence of what was already there at the next lower level. So far, there is pretty complete accord with the teaching of Professor Alexander, the philosopher whom Dr. Morgan quotes more often than any other. But Dr. Morgan adds that though the conception of a transcendent source of activity must not be introduced into natural science, there is nothing in science which forbids us to entertain the conception. Science, in fact, does not " need the hypothesis " of God, but it allows us to " acknowledge " God if we please to do so, and Dr. Morgan personally pleases to make the acknowledgment. Thus, while he agrees with Professor Alexander in looking on " deity " as a quality as something which may emerge, and apparently has emerged, in evolution as the next highest level to humanity, he breaks with him in also acknowledging Deity—with the capital D—as the transcendent source of the whole process.

I confess that at present I find something baffling about the whole conception. On the premises common to both, Professor Alexander seems to me the more consistent thinker of the two. If we are really to accept it " in a spirit of natural piety " that the " lower levels " contain the necessary and sufficient conditions for the " emergence " of the higher, I suppose we are back at the very primitive conception of a " stuff " which somehow contrives to give itself an ascending series of " forms." This is, in the one proper sense of the word, " materialism "—pure and unqualified materialism of the kind some of us believe to have been exploded once for all by Plato and Aristotle. But it is what you are committed to in your philosophy, if you begin by assuming that the one proper method of science is the naturalistic—unless, indeed, you save yourself, as Dr. Morgan does not, by confining science to the mere work of description of events and demanding some higher intellectual activity to supply their explanation. And if you go in for this kind of naturalism, you commit yourself to the view that the process by which the new " emerges " from the old is completely " explained " when you have identified that particular complex in the old within which the new has arisen. Your " acknowledgment " of God as an " Activity " behind the whole process of emergence has ceased to have any rational justification; it is not a *fides quærens intellectum*. Dr. Morgan is not even entitled to take the Kantian view that though natural science neither demands nor requires the recognition of God, the case is altered when we come to deal with the moral world studied in ethics, for he explicitly insists on bringing mind and all its manifesta-

tions within the one process of " emergence," and is impatient of Whitehead's cautious exclusion of mind from the " passage of nature." It is at least to be hoped that the second course of Dr. Morgan's lectures will make it clearer than the present volume whether or not he regards his own " acknowledgment " of God as a purely capricious and arbitrary attitude. From the position of Christian theism, it seems quite impossible to be satisfied with a mere permission to believe in God for no particular reason and " at our own risk." If, indeed, there really is a God such as a Christian believes in, or even such a God as Aristotle believed in, it is unthinkable that we should be able to ignore Him in our thinking either about nature or about morals. It does not follow that the study of nature will afford us " demonstration " of His being, but at least we should expect to find that both in natural and in moral science there are suggestions of Him, and that both point up to Him as the Being in whom, *if* we acknowledge Him, our endeavour to understand finds its natural satisfaction. The being of God may not be demonstrable, but at least, if God be, we should expect that any science not integrated with acknowledgment of Him is visibly infected with contradictions when taken as the last word of explanation.

There is another peculiarity of Dr. Morgan's position which I find a little intriguing, and that is the standing assumption of the finality of Spinoza's conception of God as the substance with the plurality of " parallel " attributes. Dr. Morgan seems very imperfectly alive to the difficulties with which the Spinozistic doctrine bristles. Thus it is notable that when he comes to speak of the God whom he personally " acknowledges," he does so in language which at once suggests the Aristotelian " unmoved Mover." His own account of his divergence from Alexander is precisely that it lies in admitting the existence of God as the eternal source or fount of the process of " emergent " evolution. This, if not the whole of Christian theism, is sound Aristotelianism, but it is at least very hard to see how the Aristotelian " unmoved Mover " is to be got into Spinoza's scheme, as is shown by the trouble the distinction between *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* has given to Spinoza's interpreters. Whatever that distinction may be worth, it clearly is not what I think Dr. Morgan takes it to be, the Aristotelian distinction between the unmoved " first Mover " and the " first moved." Indeed, I feel that Dr. Morgan makes an unnecessary difficulty for himself by insisting on the thoroughgoing " parallelism " which he has taken over from Spinoza. He expressly tells us that what mind " emerges " from is the complex of " psychical " characters which are the parallels of

the physical, chemical, and biological processes at the level below conscious mind. Now, not to speak of the well-known difficulties of psycho-physical parallelism so tellingly expounded in the Aberdeen Gifford lectures of Dr. James Ward, I own to a feeling that even if the doctrine were more tenable than it seems to be, I should not expect to find it adopted as part of a theory of "emergent" evolution. If the genuinely new emerges at all, why are not physical, chemical, and organic processes a sufficient basis, as they stand, for the emergence of mind? Why need the matter be complicated by providing these processes with "psychical" counterparts of an unknown character? If counterparts must be provided, what is the point of calling them "psychical" (though they cannot be any psychical processes with which we are acquainted), unless it is meant to suggest that after all the "new" thing which emerges at the level of consciousness is not so very new? Is it too much to say that it is just because Spinoza did not believe in emergent evolution (or, in fact, in any evolution at all) that he had to devise the doctrine of the "parallelism" of the attributes? Or, to put the matter from a different point of view, if we must, on Spinoza's word, postulate a host of psychical counterparts of the various organic, chemical, and physical processes, ought we not equally to postulate, *e.g.*, special chemical counterparts of all organic processes, and special physical counterparts of chemical processes? Dr. Morgan never makes any such postulates; he is content to regard, *e.g.*, physical processes, as we know them, as the sufficient basis for the "emergence" of chemical processes, though the latter contain something specifically new. Why, then, may we not dispense with the "counterparts" when we come to the emergence of mind, and so escape the difficulty of making mind emerge, as something new, out of what, though not mental, is "psychical"?

Perhaps I may be excused the suggestion that for a thinker specially occupied with biological problems and likely to exhibit the professional bias in his general thinking, Spinoza's is not the philosophical system most likely to repay careful study. His point of view is too much that already familiar to the biologist himself, and the surest way to guard against our own bias is to be familiar with thought with a different bias. Thus, when I find Dr. Morgan assuming from the first, what is graphically represented by the diagram in his first lecture, that man is all but at the apex of the "pyramid" of being, and that, after humanity, nothing remains to "emerge" but "deity"—or, as the Schoolmen more accurately called it, deiformity—I cannot help wishing that the writer had spared some time from the study of Spinoza to make himself acquainted

with St. Thomas's subtle doctrine of the hierarchy of " separate intelligences." The doctrine may not be true, of course, but at least it would serve to suggest caution in pronouncing on our own place in the scale of being. I half fancy that Dr. Morgan may be influenced here by the thought that the " emergence " of deity in a human being in course of evolution fits in with the doctrine of the Incarnation. This, however, would be a profound misconception. According to the Christian doctrine the Incarnation was not a natural emergence of deity out of humanity, but a voluntary " assumption " of " the manhood " into God. There is simply no blinking of the fact that, from first to last, Christianity, at any rate, moves wholly in the supernatural.

A. E. Taylor.

The First Book of the " Irenicum " of John Forbes of Corse. A Contribution to the Theology of Reunion. Translated and edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by E. G. Selwyn, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

This work was undertaken at the suggestion of the late Dr. Cooper of Glasgow, to whose memory it is dedicated. Dr. Cooper was an enthusiast for reunion, and Mr. Selwyn makes it clear that he has the same object in view in thus editing a portion of Forbes's theological writings. John Forbes was a Scottish theologian of the seventeenth century, who lived in the times of the " First Scottish Episcopacy " (1610-1637). His father, Bishop Forbes, was one of those consecrated in 1610; whilst the younger Forbes, himself in Presbyterian Orders, was perhaps the most distinguished of a brilliant group of divines who were teaching at Aberdeen during that stormy period. He wrote the *Irenicum* in reply to a series of " problems " which had been sent to him. These problems reflected the state of current controversy in Scotland following upon the passing of certain Articles of discipline, which were imposed upon the Scottish Church in 1618 under pressure from the Crown. This book, then, introduces us to a chapter in the great Puritan controversy which raged over these islands for a hundred years and more.

The scene is laid in Scotland. But, as we read John Forbes with Mr. Selwyn's help, we are continually reminded of similar doings south of the Tweed during the whole of this period. As we read the arguments of Forbes and the objections of his opponents, we recall the similar controversy which had taken place half a century before between Cartwright and the English Puritans on the one hand and Whitgift and Hooker on the other. Cartwright's *Defence of the Admonition* and *A Letter*

of Certain English Protestants are here replaced by Gillespie's *Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies* and the anonymous *Re-examination of the Perth Articles*. John Forbes plays the part of Hooker to these Scottish Puritans. But whilst personalities are changed, the controversy is essentially the same. The same or similar topics are discussed. The same arguments are brought forward from the Puritan side; approximately the same positions are laid down by Forbes as by Hooker in reply. This episode of Scottish Church history is in its theological issues a reproduction of what had already taken place in England.

The main issues of the controversy are clearly set out in the volume before us. The Perth Articles had enjoined kneeling at Holy Communion, the use of Confirmation, a minimum observance of the Christian calendar and the duty of celebrating Baptism and the Eucharist privately, when sickness or other like need rendered it desirable. Of these points, that which concerned kneeling at Communion was the most hotly disputed, and its discussion dominates that part of the *Irenicum* which is embodied in Mr. Selwyn's work. But it led on to other issues; and here we see how closely this controversy followed lines already marked out in the earlier struggle of Elizabethan Puritanism. Puritanism took its rise in a reaction against the moderate sacramental and ceremonial standards of the Elizabethan Prayer Book. But the main issue of the discussion in England had soon shifted from the external details of worship to the more fundamental question of authority. What was the proper authority for settling these disputed questions? The Puritan answer was that all such questions were to be settled by an appeal to Scripture. Pressed to its conclusion, this argument meant that there was no room for a living authority in the Church. Everything was prescribed in the past; nothing could be settled by the reasoned mind of the Church in the present generation. In the "problems" sent to Forbes this position was put in the form of an attack upon human liberty. It was denied that any human acts are "indifferent"—that is to say, every possible act is either right or wrong. There can be no neutral class of acts in which the will may freely choose between alternatives without falling under condemnation from the law of God. If this were true there could be no such thing as the liberty of the Gospel. Here we have one of the paradoxes of history. A movement, which had for its original starting-point a strong reassertion of the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith, came in the end to a denial of that very liberty which St. Paul held to be an essential consequence of that doctrine. Thus stated the issue seems sufficiently clear. In Forbes's chapters, however, the subject provides some stiff

reading, partly, no doubt, on account of the scholastic style of his arguments.

We may therefore be grateful to Mr. Selwyn for his first Appendix in which he unravels some of the scholastic subtleties of the text and seeks to show the practical bearing of this bygone controversy upon the affairs of the Church to-day. He is, no doubt, right in claiming that the actual question raised in these chapters "is one which may be regarded as long ago settled." As to the temper of mind, however, which raised the question, it is another matter. Human nature does not change so easily. And this narrowness of outlook is not confined to one interpretation of Christianity. It is a danger which besets us all. How disastrous have been its results in turning souls away from the Gospel is a question which none of us can care to contemplate.

For Mr. Selwyn the interest of these questions lies in their bearing upon our modern efforts towards reconciliation, in particular the present attempt to reach agreement upon Prayer-Book revision. That, in turn, is part of the larger problem of reunion within the Church of England, which is now engaging the attention of the Archbishop's Commission on doctrine.

The editorial matter in this book draws attention to two other important topics, which are of primary importance in all reunion discussions, namely, Episcopacy and Eucharistic Theology. Of these the first comes under consideration in the Introduction, whilst a considerable Appendix is devoted to the second. Neither of these questions is directly raised in that part of the *Irenicum* which is here translated. Both, however, are discussed at length by Forbes in the Second Book; and both lie behind the "problems" dealt with in the First Book. Episcopacy was the only form of living Church authority which could deliver men from bondage to the letter of Scripture; and here Hooker's claim that Episcopacy was of divine appointment gave him a great advantage over Forbes with his Presbyterian associations. The controversy about kneeling at Holy Communion raised the whole question of Eucharistic adoration and its theological justification. Here, in the handling of Eucharistic doctrine, it would seem that, as between Hooker and Forbes, the advantage lay rather the other way. This does not necessarily mean that there was any great difference between them as to actual beliefs. Both were evidently feeling their way to a mediating position between the opposing theologies of Rome and the Reformation. Both were inclined, at times, to press unduly some one part of patristic teaching and to ignore other aspects. Thus, for example, both writers press the analogy between Baptism and the Eucharist beyond

what the facts will bear; whilst Hooker exhibits a quite extraordinary aloofness towards the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist and the weight of tradition by which it is supported. In this last respect the balance of Forbes's teaching is in much better proportion, as was the case also with most of our English divines in the seventeenth century. There was another important matter about which the seventeenth century, as a whole, made an advance upon Hooker's position; and here, too, we detect the change of attitude in Mr. Selwyn's account of Forbes's teaching. It is well known that Hooker refused to enter into the controversy about the Eucharistic Presence, although by the very manner in which he declined the contest he seems to the present writer to have indicated that he did not think the subject one of the first importance. He called for a halt in the dispute and asked men to transfer their interests elsewhere. The course of theological discussion in the century which followed showed that this could not be done. What Mr. Selwyn calls "the symbolism of objects" could not be treated as an indifferent matter. So to-day, when we are invited to concentrate upon an agreement about the reality of blessings received in Communion, some of us may well feel, with Bramhall and Thorndike, that the question upon which agreement should be sought is one much more fundamental than that of the Communion experienced in reception of the Holy Gifts. It is the question of a right attitude towards those same Holy Gifts, which are the objects of that experience and the ground of its possibility.

Hooker's appeal for agreement upon the reality of Communion, all other aspects being dropped, is a very one-sided form of *irenicum*, for it gives all the advantage to one point of view and that a somewhat restricted one. But Communion can never be safely isolated from other aspects of the Holy Mysteries. So Mr. Selwyn wisely points out that if Reservation is acknowledged to be legitimate for purposes of Communion, an attempt to restrict its use to this one purpose only cannot be maintained. At the same time he insists on the need of very careful safeguards to ensure "that all devotions in connexion with the Blessed Sacrament shall be within the horizons of the Eucharistic action" (p. 246).

In Eucharistic theology Mr. Selwyn belongs to that school of thought which emphasizes "effectual symbolism" and which is opening up to us fresh lines of advance towards the healing of old controversies. The subject has been somewhat differently treated along these lines by Mr. Spens in this country, and by Dr. Waterman in America. We watch with interest the progress of this new experiment in constructive theology; for it is likely hat much may come of it. L. S. THORNTON, C.R.

NOTICES

THE ACTS. By A. W. F. Blunt. Oxford Press. 4s. 6d.

A new series of commentaries entitled "The Clarendon Bible" is attractively inaugurated by this volume. The editors of the series are the Bishops of Ripon and Newcastle. The readers for whom it is designed are elder boys at public schools, teachers, clergy, and the general public. The method adopted is to provide an Introduction, then to print the Revised Version, after which the Commentary proper follows. This falls into three parts. First comes a summary of the section; then a short explanation of detailed words and phrases; then, if required, an excursus or essay on some subject which needs fuller treatment. A novel and delightful feature is some fifty illustrations and maps, chosen with great skill, though not always successfully reproduced. The Greek type is very indistinct in places.

The book is sure of a warm welcome. The author modestly disclaims any intention of dealing with the latest speculations of radical criticism, but he has cast his net very widely and few recent contributions to the study of Acts have escaped his notice. Here this notice might stop, for the small criticisms I have to offer do not affect the opinion just expressed of the excellence of the book. But some of the points which follow may interest readers.

We are told on p. 27 that Luke neglects to mention the offering of the "collection" to the Church of Jerusalem. But xxiv. 17 describes the purpose of St. Paul's visit as being to bring the alms, and surely St. Luke is justified in thinking his readers will assume the purpose to have been fulfilled. Mr. Blunt in the Introduction gives the date of Acts as 64-75. In his notes on chapter v. he says that the conservative explanations of the apparent borrowing from Josephus (Theudas and Judas) have a flimsy appearance. The conflict with the view taken in the Introduction is not adequately explained.

Sometimes we find judgments which say at once too much and too little. They read like concessions to radical criticism, which, if made at all, should be accompanied by more explanation. Thus: "Paul probably found in the heathen mystery religious ideas which he could take over into Christianity to explain Christian customs in such a way as to commend them to heathen converts" (p. 141). This comment is made on viii. 14: "The practice that some chief authority of the Church should recognize and bless new converts may have, when possible, been usual, long before any doctrine of the gift of the Spirit in Confirmation had been arrived at." Nor is such a comment as this helpful: "The resuscitation of Tabitha is clearly based on a local tradition of the wonderful recovery of some leading member of the Church in connection with Peter's visit."

Holy Spirit now means a person, now an influence. "The difference may often be noted by observing the presence or absence of the definite article in the Greek, though ultimately the context must decide the right shade of meaning" (p. 145). Robertson is more cautious: "Whenever the Greek article occurs, the object is certainly definite. When it is not used, the object may or may not be." (*Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 756).

A common judgment on viii. 26 is repeated. Κατὰ μεσημβρίαν does not mean at noon, "which would be a very unfavourable time (for travelling)." But St. Paul was on his way to Damascus at mid-day.

In connection with xii. 2, the martyrdom of St. John is mentioned as a possibility. It is right that this hypothesis should now appear in popular books, but the ordinary teacher needs guidance in dealing with an idea so disturbing to the Christian tradition. "Raised up" in xiii. 33 is said to refer to the Incarnation, the same word in 34 to the Resurrection, and the quotation from Psalm ii. in 33 to the Resurrection. But the quotation goes with what precedes. Does not the whole of 33 refer to the Baptism of Christ? The following note is given on xv. 7: "The translation should be, 'God chose you that the Gentiles through me . . .,' *i.e.*, 'chose you to convert the Gentiles, and I began it.' The construction ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξελέξατο for 'chose you' is the same as in 1 Sam. xvi. 9, 10, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐξελέξατο ὁ κύριος, 'neither hath the Lord chosen this one.'" But in the overwhelming majority of cases the verb in the LXX is followed by the accusative. If once or twice the Hebrew, which takes the preposition, is literally translated, that is no justification for supposing that Luke committed such a solecism. The arguments for the Western text of the Apostolic decree in xv. are overstated. Scholars are about equally divided on this matter, but Mr. Blunt says "there can be only one answer," so far as intrinsic probability goes. In xvi. 13 he states that there was no synagogue, but only a prayer enclosure. This may be true, but cannot be surely deduced from the use of *proseuche*. The Jews at Arsinoe had a προσευχή and a εὐχεῖον. The former was apparently a synagogue and the latter a less formal place of prayer. See Mitteis-Wilcken I. ii. 227 (papyrus of 113 A.D.). On p. 206 Muhammed is said to have lived for some time with an Elkesaite community. I can find no authority for this in the books of reference at my disposal. The note on xix. 16: "*both of them.* Were there only two?"—misses the point. There is good evidence for ἀμφότεροι in the *Koine* meaning "all."

W. K. L. CLARKE.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE COLOSSIANS. Four Lectures by the Rev. Maurice Jones, D.D., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter. S.P.C.K. 5s. net.

The principal of Lampeter has done well to publish his lectures on Colossians delivered at Oxford in 1921 for the vacation term for Biblical Study. They are clear, concise, and scholarly, and show wide reading. Within their limits they give valuable help to an understanding of the Epistle. The book should prove useful to two classes of students: first, to those who are prevented from making a detailed study with the aid of a large commentary; and, secondly, to the possessors of Lightfoot who wish to correct and supplement his treatment in the light of modern knowledge.

Some may wish that more space had been devoted to Mystery Religions and less to a refutation of theories that the Epistle was composed elsewhere than at Rome. It is strange, too, that in discussing its genuineness Dr. Jones makes no use of its intimate connection with Philemon. We find ourselves in more serious disagreement with him on the subject of angels. He brings out admirably the importance of allowing for the background of a belief in spirits in our interpretation of the Epistles—we might add of the Gospels too. He is surely right in maintaining as against Lightfoot that the "principalities and powers" whom Christ stripped of their authority and triumphed over by His Cross are "the

angels of the Law." But to assert that not only the angels of the Law, but all angels, are reckoned by St. Paul, as opposed to other writers of the New Testament, "among the forces . . . hostile to God and man" (p. 39), is to go beyond the evidence. No doubt the conception of angels was a fluid one. It is hard to know how far they possessed personality. Often they correspond to our laws of nature.

But the distinction between good and rebellious angels was familiar and there is no evidence that St. Paul did not accept it. Our view of the "angels of the Law" will depend on our view of St. Paul's attitude to the Law. If it is true that what he opposed was not the Law, but the Pharisaic interpretation of it; if he regarded it as good in itself and as having a real though temporary part in the divine ceremony—then the angels of the Law share its divine and provisional authority. When Jesus the Messiah abolished the Law, fulfilling and so wiping out its claim on sinful humanity by His death, He necessarily deprived the angels of their authority. But the question is too big to receive adequate discussion here. We hope Dr. Jones will reconsider and restate his position. Meanwhile his book as a whole deserves to find readers.

E. J. BICKNELL.

THE APPEARANCE OF MIND. By James Clark McKerrow, M.B. Longmans, Green and Co. 1923.

If anyone has time to enjoy a good joke, we recommend the perusal of this volume. If he finds nine-tenths of the book unintelligible to the average reader, this is part of the fun. The author's "Apologia pro Sententiis suis" in the Appendix is not beyond our comprehension and is, in fact, quite entertaining. It is an act of faith (or shall we say of charity?) to assume that Parts I. and II. on sense-consciousness and thought-consciousness have a meaning, even though the author has successfully concealed it from us. A knowledge of the general drift of the Bergsonian philosophy, and some acquaintance with the history of attempts to eliminate from the study of consciousness all reference to a "subject" of experience, may deceive some readers into imagining that they are on the track of our author's secret, but before they cry out in triumph "Eureka!" let them pause to ask themselves—(i.) Why the title of the book is not *The Disappearance of Mind;* (ii.) Whether *The Absence of Mind* would not be better; and (iii.) Whether they *really* grasp, *e.g.*, what this means:

"How is the fact of experience to be defined in non-subjective terms? What is experience? It is a notion arising out of our interpretation of the *fact* that when a reaction has occurred in unviable conditions which have restored Viable Equilibrium, the same action tends to occur subsequently, when similar conditions arise. This Principle of Repetition is directly derived from the Principle of Tendency to Viable Equilibrium. The reaction does not occur, on the second occasion, *because* it occurred before, but because, once again, conditions are unviable, and consequently there is a tendency to Viable Equilibrium." (Cf. pp. 73 and pp. 90-91 for further enlightenment.)

H. M. RELTON.

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